

# NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA



## THESIS

DIVERSITY TRAINING IN THE UNITED  
STATES MARINE CORPS

by

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**DIVERSITY TRAINING IN THE UNITED  
STATES MARINE CORPS**

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Major, United States Marine Corps  
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Submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF SCIENCE IN MANAGEMENT**

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## ABSTRACT

In recent years, the Marine Corps has become a very racially, ethnically, religiously, and gender diverse organization, and demographic trends indicate that this diversity will become even more pronounced in the future. Such diversity can have a strong, positive influence on productivity. This thesis examines problems the Marine Corps has had in accepting diversity within its ranks, analyses the Marine Corps' plans for addressing diversity issues now and in the future, and evaluates several coalition building workshops for their applicability to the Marine Corps. A literature review on diversity issues such as power, privilege, social conditioning, and racism is combined with the results of a survey of Navy and Marine Corps officers who participated in a graduate-level seminar on managing diversity in the military and with workshop assessments to develop a plan for diversity training in the Marine Corps. This plan incorporates highly interactive exercises, role-playing scenarios, personal experience, enlightened lectures, and other forms of instruction consistent with Adult Learning Theory to offer the Marine Corps a better chance of creating a cultural change around diversity issues. This training program should be facilitated by highly trained and dedicated instructors and it should be taught at career-level schools where small groups of racially, ethnically, and gender diverse students can learn in a peer environment. This program must be given the same degree of attention as other important factors affecting readiness.



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## I. INTRODUCTION

### A. BACKGROUND

In a speech before the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania on the second of June, 1981, then-Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Robert H. Barrow, explained that "Success in battle is not a function of how many show up, but who they are." [Ref. 1:p. 11] As far as the United States Marine Corps is concerned, "who they are" has changed dramatically over the years since the Corps' founding and is likely to change even more dramatically in the future. The Marine Corps, at one point in time, was a very homogeneous fighting force, consisting entirely of white males. [Ref. 2:p. 10] Over the years, due to necessity, Congressional legislation and Executive order, that force has become very diverse with respect to race, ethnicity, gender, and culture. Of all the problems facing the Marine Corps as it prepares for the challenges of the twenty-first century, the issue of dealing with an increasingly diverse force structure may be one of the most important. This study examines the benefits and problems associated with an increasingly diverse Marine Corps and explores methods of increasing the former and decreasing the latter.

The Marine Corps, like numerous business corporations and society as a whole, has not found it to be an easy task to accept diversity within its ranks, let alone consider the possibility that it might be an advantageous situation. The difficulty in accepting diversity has led to numerous policies and directives aimed at increasing minority representation within the officer corps, insuring equal opportunity and fair treatment for all Marines, and attempting to educate Marines in subjects such as sexual harassment. These policies and directives, and the training that has been mandated as a result of them, have met with only limited success as evidenced by

equal opportunity surveys, highly publicized sexual harassment and racial incidents, and disproportionately small (relative to the national average) numbers of minority officers within the Marine Corps' officer corps. [Ref. 3:p. 6]

The Marine Corps' current approach to these "diversity issues" is delineated in Marine Corps Order (MCO) 5354.1C, which deals with issues such as discrimination, command equal opportunity climate, and affirmative action policy. [Ref. 4]. Additionally, MCO 5300.10A deals with sexual harassment. Recently the Marine Corps has published its "Campaign Plan to Increase Diversity within the Officer Corps of the United States Marine Corps." [Ref. 5] This campaign plan, commonly referred to as 12-12-5, is in response to the Secretary of the Navy's 8 July 1994 directive that requires the officer corps of the Naval Services to be more racially representative of the nation. Specifically, it tasks the Naval Services with increasing racial diversity within the officer corps to 12 percent Black, 12 percent Hispanic, and 5 percent Asian/Pacific Islander and Native American/Alaskan Native by the year 2000. [Ref. 6]

Interestingly, much of the literature reviewed for this thesis would not support 12-12-5 as a true diversity plan, but would argue that it is a quota system in disguise. Nonetheless, there are some very significant aspects of 12-12-5 that are important to note and are relevant to this thesis. Specifically, the execution phase of the plan notes in the Commander's Intent section that, "we will effect a cultural change in the Marine Corps by educating and training all Marines about the importance of diversity in our ranks." [Ref. 5:p. 2] The Commander's Intent further goes on to note that, "Parts of this plan have been implemented in the past but lost momentum after interim successes, causing the plan to fail." [Ref. 5:p. 2] Under the Concept of Operations, the Commandant explains that his main effort is to "develop a training and education

plan that illustrates the benefits of a culturally diversified Marine Corps." [Ref. 5:p. 2]

The 12-12-5 is the Marine Corps' published approach to dealing with diversity issues and the methods, techniques, and philosophies it promulgates are addressed in more detail in later chapters. There are other methods, techniques, and philosophies that address the issues of diversity acceptance and profiting from diversity. Corporations, governments, universities, and communities throughout the United States have invested millions of dollars in diversity training. Business journals are full of advertisements for individuals and companies that specialize in diversity training. Numerous books have been written on the subject. Non-profit organizations exist at the local, national, and international level that conduct seminars and workshops in communities and schools around the country that are aimed at reducing prejudices and ending discrimination. This thesis asks the question, "Is there a better approach for the Marine Corps?"

## **B. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The purpose of this thesis is to study the issue of cultural diversity and its applicability to the United States Marine Corps. The primary research question is, "Is diversity training in the best interests of the Marine Corps, and if it is, what is the best program?"

## **C. DEFINITIONS**

It is critical to have a common frame of reference when referring to various "diversity terms." Terminology can be of critical importance because many of the terms germane to diversity issues cause preconceived feelings in people that may or may not be warranted by the subject at hand. The following definitions, descriptions, comparisons, and examples are applicable to this thesis. Entire management philosophies have been developed over the slight deviation of terminology in the

realm of diversity management. The author of this thesis does not claim that the definitions used in this thesis are necessarily "the best" definitions nor the most accurate, but rather, are the definitions he feels are most applicable to his thesis. The terminology used to describe a particular race or ethnicity can also cause emotional reactions in people. The terms used to describe race and ethnicity in this thesis will be those used by the Marine Corps in its orders and publications, except in cases where specific terminology is used in a particular workshop or study.

**Diversity** - The dictionary definition is the state of fact of being diverse; difference; unlikeness; variety. [Ref. 7], but that does not even begin to define the term relative to managerial and social thought. As one research report on diversity training points out, most corporations have chosen to customize the definition of diversity so it fits their work environment. [Ref. 8:p. 10] The definition can be limited to encompass only differences that are usually visible or obvious, such as race and gender; differences that are acknowledged by federal Equal Employment Opportunity laws, race, gender, ethnicity, age, national origin, religion, and disability; or can be broadened to include differences such as social-economic status, personality characteristics, sexual preference, geographical upbringing, and numerous other "differences." The definition used in this study is that of IBM corporation, "all the different characteristics that make one individual different from another." [Ref. 8:p. 10]

**Managing Diversity** - "A comprehensive managerial process for developing an environment that works for all employees." [Ref. 9:p. 10]

**Diversity Training** - If various corporations, consultants, and academics find it difficult to agree on a common definition of diversity, then it is certainly easy to understand why it is even more difficult to define diversity training. Definitions of diversity training are a function of how broadly one defines diversity. [Ref. 8:p. 10]

Furthermore, most consultants define diversity training as it relates to their individual program and as such, most of their definitions are statements about the intermediate and/or final goals and objectives of their program. This thesis is no different in that regard, and hence the definition used in this thesis is "training designed to increase the harmonious and productive work ethic of diverse people."

**Affirmative Action** - Affirmative Action programs started as government programs designed in the 1960s to diversify, in terms of minorities and gender, the American workforce. [Ref. 10] These programs were designed to "level the playing field" in terms of providing necessary training to qualify women and minorities for jobs for which they might not otherwise be qualified, or to provide preferential selection to qualified women and minorities in instances where those categories of workers were under represented relative to the available workforce. While affirmative action and diversity training may involve common elements and are not mutually exclusive, neither are they the same thing. This issue is further discussed in Chapter II.

**Culture**- The dictionary definition is "the sum total of ways of living built up by a group of human beings and transmitted from one generation to another." [Ref. 7] This definition helps in understanding how culture is a diversity category and why many academics and organizations use the term "cultural diversity" to encompass large diversity sub-categories such as race, ethnicity, religion, and geographical differences. The definition also lends itself to facilitating a better understanding of culture as it applies to businesses and organizations, normally described as organizational culture, and defined below.

**Organizational Culture** - "Underlying values, beliefs and principles that serve as a foundation for the organization's management system, as well as the set of

management practices and behaviors that both exemplify and reinforce those principles." [Ref. 11:p. 161]

**Racism** - "The act of one in power exerting biased and prejudiced behavior over another [based on race differences]. The notion that one's race is superior over another race." [Ref. 10] There are many different kinds of racism. This point is elaborated on in Chapter II.

**Discrimination** - "To prejudge, differentiate." [Ref. 10] It is important to note that most people attach a negative connotation to the word discrimination that is not necessarily warranted by the definition. Even in the most enlightened society, it would be impossible not to differentiate between individuals. Nevertheless, when used in this thesis, the word discrimination should be assumed to have the negative connotation described above unless adjectives such as "legal," "lawful," "warranted," or "necessary" are used in association with the word.

**Tolerance** - "Recognition and open-mindedness to different practices, attitudes, and cultures; does not necessarily mean agreement with the difference." [Ref. 10]

**Ally** - "Someone who acknowledges and aligns him/herself with the struggles of a disadvantaged or minority group; not part of the group him/herself." [Ref. 10]

#### D. METHODOLOGY

This thesis examines diversity training in the Marine Corps as it exists today, as it is scheduled to be implemented in the future, and as it might be altered in the future. Different techniques and programs designed to help organizations decrease problems associated with diverse workforces and, in fact, reap benefits from such workforces are reviewed. The methodology used is a qualitative analytical approach to related literature, consultation services, seminars, and workshops. Several workshops designed to reduce or end discrimination by individuals are attended and

analyzed by the author. An analysis of diversity-related problems currently facing the United States Marine Corps and problems the Marine Corps is likely to encounter in the future are addressed, as well as cultural issues that could impede implementation of a successful program. Finally, a racially and gender-mixed group of Navy and Marine officers who participated in a graduate-level experimental course on managing diversity in the military are surveyed for their opinions on the relevancy of the training to military proficiency.

#### **E. SCOPE OF THE THESIS**

As noted in the definitions section of this chapter, the term diversity can encompass an endless list of "differences" between people. Without question, the two biggest diversity issues facing the Marine Corps today are issues of race and gender. In testimony before congress on April 16, 1996, then Chief of Staff for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, LtGen George R. Christmas, spoke on the subject of managing diversity. He spoke only on the issues of equal opportunity, as it relates to minorities, gender parity, and sexual harassment. [Ref. 12:p. 237] This is also true for society as a whole, as evidenced by the relatively large amount of literature available on these two subjects as compared to any other diversity category. It is for this reason that most of the literature reviewed and cited in this thesis applies to these two areas. That is not to say that problems do not exist within the Marine Corps in other diversity areas or that other diversity areas are not important. It is for this reason that diversity is left in generic terms as the subject of this thesis even though there is an admitted concentration on the areas of race and gender.

It is further noted that all the military services discriminate on who they allow to serve for reasons of good order and discipline and combat effectiveness. From time to time, those selection policies have been reviewed by either the services themselves or by Congressional, Executive, or Judicial authority. Sometimes the

discriminatory policy in question has been upheld and sometimes it has been changed. It is not the purpose of this thesis to further challenge existing discriminatory policies, but rather to explore different methods for better eliminating from the ranks those discriminations that have already been legally ordered removed. In the case of gender, authorized discrimination exists in terms of billet assignment only. The issue of gender discrimination in terms of billet assignment is examined in this thesis only in the context of how it may or may not effect overall gender discrimination.

#### **F. TIMELINESS AND RELEVANCE OF THIS STUDY**

"A house divided cannot stand," "together we stand, divided we fall," "the enemy within," the cliches describing an organization suffering from internal division are as plentiful as they are relevant. It is almost impossible to pick up a newspaper or turn on the television today and not be confronted with a sexual harassment case, hate crime, or discrimination lawsuit affecting one or more of the military services. While these problems are certainly not unique to the miliary services, the life or death ramifications of a decrease in combat effectiveness arguably make them of more concern than the associated loss of profit or moral indignation experienced in the civilian sector. The issue of combat effectiveness lies at the core of the diversity issue and this thesis. The Marine Corps has already devoted much time, effort, and money concerning the issue of equal opportunity and is planning on devoting even more in the future. [Ref. 5] If this thesis is successful in recommending a better way to invest that time, effort, and money, then its relevancy becomes obvious.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a review of the literature on diversity issues and diversity training. There are four potential reasons for diversity training.

1. Demographic changes in the population of the United States.
2. Legal Requirements.
3. It's the morally right thing to do.
4. It makes economic sense, or in military terms, it's combat effective.

This chapter explores each of these four reasons by reviewing published works on the respective issue and/or service policy. Concepts such as gender conditioning, privilege, affirmative action, and racism are also reviewed. While some military leaders are quoted and some military examples used, the military applicability of the concepts is discussed primarily in Chapters IV and V.

### B. DEMOGRAPHICS AND RESULTING ISSUES

#### 1. The Changing Population of America

In 1987, The Hudson Institute published a study commissioned by the U.S. Department of Labor called *Workforce 2000*. It predicted that by the title year, 85 percent of the new entrants into the workforce will be minorities, immigrants, and women. [Ref. 13:p. xiii] That study is one of the most cited references in diversity literature and functioned as a "wake up call" for corporate America that diversity in the workforce would not be an issue of choice.

Since 1987, numerous other studies and reports have focused on the changing demographics of the U.S. workforce. In 1993, the Bureau of the Census estimated that by the year 2050, nearly half of the population will be Hispanic, Black, American Indian, or Asian. [Ref. 14:p. 3] Already, over half of the workforce is made up of women, minorities and immigrants, meaning that while white males may still be the largest single group, they are no longer the majority of the workforce. [Ref. 15:p. 107]

Predicted statistics for the youth labor market (from 16 to 24 years of age) are even more relevant to military planners, since that is the group from which the military draws the vast majority of its new entrants. Participation by the following groups in the youth labor market is predicted to increase as indicated: women .8 percent, Blacks 1 percent, Asians 1 percent, and Hispanics 3 percent. [Ref. 16:p. iv] Not only is the youth labor force changing racially and ethnically, but it is also declining in size relative to the rest of the labor force. Due to declining fertility rates, the percentage of youth that make up the U.S. population is expected to fall from 10.3 percent of the total population in 1990 to 9.8 percent in 2010 and 8.1 percent in 2080. [Ref. 16:p. ii]

These statistics have several implications for the Marine Corps. Given that the labor pool will consist more and more of minorities and women, the number of minorities and women serving in the Marine Corps will increase correspondingly. Another interesting issue is how this more diversified workforce will affect American public opinion. As corporate America comes to have fewer young, White males filling out its ranks, Americans will likely become more accepting of diversity issues and may come to question a Marine Corps that is not representative of the population. But by far, the most significant implication is the effect these changes in demo-

graphics have had, and will continue to have, on organizations' cultures and the process of assimilation.

## **2.      Organizational Culture**

The concept of organizational culture has been the subject of much research in recent years. [Ref. 17:p. 270] There are numerous definitions of organizational culture that describe an organization's values, practices, procedures, shared thoughts, feelings, language, emotions, and countless other characteristics. One of the simplest and most useful definitions is "the way things are done around here." While that definition may be simple, its powerful, all-encompassing description speaks to the importance of culture to an organization. For some organizations, such as the Marine Corps, the concept of a shared institutional culture among its members is of such importance that it is addressed regularly by top leaders and continuously written about in the organization's literature. [Refs. 1, 3, 12] Whether an organization's culture is obvious or subtle, its influence on organizational life is pervasive and powerful. [Ref. 18:p. 329] How cultures develop is an important concept to diversity issues. Two researchers on the American workforce point out the following.

As a result, [of historical corporate America ignoring ethnic and cultural diversity] powerful, homogeneous cultures developed inside most U.S. organizations, exerting an important impact on the standards, unstated norms, and expectations set for all employees. To a large extent, these cultures were shaped by the values and beliefs of those who founded our society's most important and powerful institutions—primarily white men of western European heritage. [Ref. 19:p. 36]

In her book on multicultural organizations, Marlene Fine points out, "The culture of the organization is superordinate to the cultural identities that members bring with them into an organization." [Ref. 14:p. 46] This was not much of a

concern in the past when the culture of the individual members to a large degree mirrored that of an organization's founders and that of each other. Those cultural characteristics became the culture of the organization. The experiences White males shared together in the workplace became common bond-forming experiences that self-perpetuated that culture. [Ref. 14:p. 46]

The culture of an organization does not need to be openly racist or sexist to cause problems within that organization. Fine illustrates this point by relating the story of a group of MBA students discussing the relative importance of different issues in making business decisions. The American business world is dominated by White males and the culture of individual companies as well as that of the business world in the aggregate tends to be that of White, American males. During the discussion, a heated argument breaks out over the issue of religion, which does not rank high with most of the students, but for one Pakistani woman it is the most important issue. [Ref. 14:p. 47] In this case, the experiences of people that grew up in a White-male-dominated business world differed dramatically from someone who did not grow up on an issue that provoked strong emotions. If this Pakistani woman was in business with the other students, the historical answer to this dilemma would be for her to adapt to the situation by denying the cultural influences of her heritage and assimilating those of the majority. She would need to do her thinking "in the box" of White-male culture.

### **3. Assimilation**

Assimilation has been the American answer to racial and ethnic changes in population since the concept of a "melting pot" was first vocalized to describe American society. As one of the earliest writers on managing diversity, Dr. R. Roosevelt Thomas, Jr., points out, the attitude used to be "newcomers are expected to adapt so that they "fit;" the burden of making the change falls to them." [Ref. 9:p.

7] The attitude has now changed to "I'm different, and proud of what makes me so. I can help your team, and I would like to join you, but only if I can do so without compromising my uniqueness." [Ref. 9:p. 8] Roosevelt further points out that the complete elimination of assimilation is not feasible, that there must always be some degree of willingness to adapt. [Ref. 9:p. 8] This makes sense; if a person was raised in a non-disciplined, laissez-faire type environment, that individual probably wouldn't make a very good accountant unless there is some degree of willingness to adapt. Military life obviously requires some assimilation.

In addition to the general increase in peoples' unwillingness to assimilate, there are also serious problems caused by forcing people to assimilate. One of those is the mental health of the person being forced to assimilate. Fine states:

Pragmatically, assimilation is a strategy that has had serious negative consequences for individuals in organizations and the organizations themselves. The woman or person of color who assimilates into white male organizational culture pays an enormous psychological price. Those who assimilate are denied the ability to express their genuine selves in the workplace; they are forced to repress significant parts of their lives within a social context that frames a large part of their daily encounters with other people. Even when people are successful in performing their jobs, the coping strategies they adopt often lead to physical and psychological stress. [Ref. 14:p. 35]

The danger to the organization itself that Fine writes about is discussed in detail later in this chapter in the section on Productivity.

### C. THE LAW

Legal issues, both from a military perspective as well as a civilian perspective, have often been the catalyst for change in organizations throughout the history of the United States. It is not the purpose of this chapter to present an in-depth review of

legal history surrounding discrimination issues, but rather to note the significance of legal matters when answering the question, "why conduct diversity training?" and to present military laws, orders, and policy statements that are in effect today and are relevant to how the military deals with diversity issues. Affirmative Action is discussed as well as corporate lawsuits.

## **1. Marine Corps Orders and Policy**

The Marine Corps has a series of published orders that address issues of equal opportunity, sexual harassment, and affirmative action. According to MCO 5354, it is the Marine Corps' policy to "provide equal opportunity for all military members without regard to race, color, religion, sex, or national origin consistent with the law and regulations and the requirements for physical and mental abilities." [Ref. 20:p. 1] MCO 5354.2C is the Marine Corps' Affirmative Action Plan (AAP). It notes that the AAP is "an essential part of the equal opportunity program" and explains that its purpose is to "insure that minorities and women are allowed the opportunity to compete equally in all areas within the limits imposed by law and applicable regulations." [Ref. 4:p. 1] The Marine Corps has not been successful to date in meeting the goals outlined in this order. [Ref. 5:p. 4] The methodology used in the AAP is to set a series of milestones and goals in recruiting, retaining, and promoting for the Marine Corps to reach in the areas of minority and women representation. For minorities, the Marine Corps uses representation equal to "the eligible population." That means minorities that possess a college degree for officers and minorities that possess a high school diploma for enlisted personnel. This is an important distinction because those numbers are less than the total population representation. For example, according to the 1990 census, Blacks make up 12.3 percent of the population, but only make up 4.6 percent of college degree holders and 8.5 percent of high school diploma holders. [Ref. 4:p. 1] For women, the Marine Corps did not set numerical goals, but

stated representation goals in terms of "maximum number supportable by law, regulations, and utilization policy." [Ref. 4:p. 4]

MCO 5354.3 is significant because it outlines the purpose and responsibilities of Equal Opportunity (EO) Advisors. These advisors are assigned to major commands throughout the Marine Corps and are tasked with advising the Commanding General on EO matters. These advisors are trained at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) where they receive training in EO program management, multi-cultural history, diversity, discrimination, and training management. [Ref. 21:p. 3] They are assigned myriad tasks by the order to include filing reports, conducting inspections, advising and assisting on investigations, and other related responsibilities. Of significance to this thesis is that one of those assigned responsibilities is to "monitor EO training to ensure it is effective," but no additional guidance is given on what the substance of that training should be. [Ref. 21:p. 2]

While these three orders remain in effect, they have been augmented by a new directive that has the potential of dramatically changing their collective effectiveness. That directive, Operation Order 1-95, was briefly described in Chapter I as the Marine Corps' plan to accomplish 12-12-5, but it could potentially accomplish much more. It is discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

## **2. Affirmative Action**

Chapter I defined Affirmative Action programs and explained their origin. It also noted that Affirmative Action programs differ from diversity training. The previous section noted that the Marine Corps' Affirmative Action program is the most substantial part of its Equal Opportunity program. This section explores the problems associated with Affirmative Action programs. R. Roosevelt Thomas explains that Affirmative Action developed as a result of 5 assumptions [Ref. 9:p. 18]:

1. The mainstream in U.S. business is made up of white males.
2. Women and minorities are excluded from this because of wide spread racial, ethnic.
3. Such exclusion is unnecessary, given the strength of the economic edifice.
4. Furthermore, it is contrary to both good public policy and common decency.
5. Therefore, legal and social coercion are necessary to bring about change.

While these assumptions are designed for the business world, they apply quite easily to the Marine Corps. Like the business world, the Marine Corps developed an Affirmative Action program to address these assumptions, and like the business world, the Marine Corps fell victim to problems caused by the corrective measures. Roosevelt describes the limits of Affirmative Action in terms of a cycle: crises, problem recognition, intervention (Affirmative Action mode recruiting), high expectations, disappointment, dormancy, and back to crisis again. [Ref. 9:p. 22] While Affirmative Action has been successful in getting women and minorities in the door, it has not been successful in allowing them to realize their full potential. Assimilation has been the ultimate goal. [Ref. 9:p. 20] Cries of reverse discrimination and the stigma of under qualification have been the result of many Affirmative Action programs, hence the disappointment phase of Roosevelt's cycle applies not only to minorities and women, but to White males and senior management as well. [Ref. 9:p. 24] The Commandant of the Marine Corps validated the applicability of Roosevelt's cycle to the Marine Corps when he stated in Operation Order 1-95, "Parts

of this plan [AAP] have been implemented in the past but lost momentum after interim successes, causing the plan to fail." [Ref. 5:p. 2]

Affirmative Action was designed to allow minorities and women to compete fairly in an organization's "system." Roosevelt argues that if the system isn't working naturally for everybody without the aid of special programs, then the "system" needs a dramatic change, and that is the essence of managing diversity. [Ref. 9:p. 26]

### 3. Lawsuits

The issue of discrimination in employment was first addressed in Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. [Ref. 17:p. 20] Since that time, American corporations have had to justify their plans, policies, and actions as they apply to equal employment and advancement opportunities numerous times in the courtroom. The cost in terms of professional reputation, public opinion, and monetary punitive damages of violating equal employment laws is substantial.

On the 15th of November, 1996, Texaco, the nation's third-largest oil company settled a 1994 discrimination lawsuit for \$176 million dollars. The lawsuit was filed as a result of racial slurs made by company executives towards Black employees. This is the largest recorded discrimination lawsuit settlement case in the history of the United States. [Ref. 22]

Although Texaco's is the largest settlement, it certainly isn't unique. Within a few days of the news of Texaco's settlement, newspaper headlines across the country were again telling the story of a corporate discrimination lawsuit, this time against Avis Rent-A-Car. [Ref. 23] In this case, certain Avis locations allegedly refused service to perspective clients because they were Black.

These lawsuits, and others like them, illustrate two important points. Racism and other forms of discrimination are alive and well in corporate America, and that

if corporations choose to ignore this fact and do nothing about these issues, then they do so at their own financial peril.

#### **D. THE MORALITY ISSUE**

Legislating morality has always been a complicated, emotional and divisive issue. It is not so much the issue of morality in terms of criminal activity, as that is fairly well delineated in the Uniform Code of Military Justice, but rather, morality as it relates to intangible concepts such as honor, truth, fairness, and "the right thing to do." Yet despite the difficulties associated with requiring adherence to these concepts, the Marine Corps has done just that.

The concepts of honor, courage and commitment have been defined as the Marine Corps' core values. [Ref. 24] In 1992, then-Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Carl Mundy directed that every Marine would participate in training that stressed the importance of abiding by these values. [Ref. 24] In ordering this training, he is quoted as proclaiming "All Marines should be judged on their individual merits as Marines" and "Every Marine has the right to be treated with the dignity and respect they deserve." [Ref. 24] The present Commandant, General C. C. Krulak, has continued the strong emphasis on core values championed by his predecessor. He has mandated changes to Marine Corps recruit training that lengthen the training period so specific training in the areas of honor, courage, and commitment can be incorporated. Within the contents of General Krulak's Commandant's planning guidance, a document designed to shape the Marine Corps for the Twenty-first Century, he states,

Because Marines are our most precious asset, we will protect them through fair, scrupulous, and unbiased treatment as individuals -- caring for them, teaching them, and leading them.... Simply stated, I expect every Marine to treat every other Marine with dignity. [Ref. 25]

The Commandant and other Marine leaders have continually tied the ideas of core values to treating people with dignity and promoting equal opportunity. In a speech to the National Naval Officers Association (NNOA), General Krulak stated that "Equal Opportunity in the Marine Corps is comprised of values and ideas that we must hold sacred." [Ref. 26] He further explained that "In the Corps, equal opportunity is more than a law, it is more than a DoD instruction, it is more than a Marine Corps Order. It's about values and ideas." [Ref. 26] The Marine Corps' top-ranking female officer, LtGen Carol A. Mutter, while speaking at a Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS) luncheon, told the audience,

In the end, however, it all comes down to individual values. Our core values are an example for everyone to live by. Training and education on core values is key and very necessary. Then, from corporal to general, Marines must demonstrate those core values as they lead others on a day-to-day basis. [Ref. 27]

On 10 November, 1996 the Marine Corps implemented the Marine Corps Values Program. That date was chosen because 10 November commemorates the birth of the United States Marine Corps and as such carries a great deal of significance to Marines. A Headquarters Marine Corps (HQMC) press release had this to say about the program,

The Marine Corps Values Program, being developed by the Marine Corps University, will enhance the "transformation of Americans" through a rigorous, thorough reaffirmation of Marine Corps Values training and education. Character development through strengthened moral fitness is the daily goal for every Marine. This program will guide the Corps through training at all levels -- from entry level training to formal schools to unit level instruction. [Ref. 28]

The connection between the Marine Corps' core values and equal opportunity is an important one because it is through this connection that the Marine Corps intends to illustrate the benefits of a culturally diversified Marine Corps as called for by Operation Order 1-95. [Ref. 29] This issue is reviewed in detail in Chapter IV.

#### **E. PRODUCTIVITY, IT MAKES ECONOMIC SENSE**

It is this point that is at the heart of diversity training in the 1990s and this thesis. It's not about coping with diversity, it's about profiting from it. James E. Preston, Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Avon Products, Inc stated it best, "Organizations of all kinds are awakening to the fact that a diverse workforce is not a burden, but their greatest potential strength - when managed properly." [Ref. 9:p. ix]

In his book, *Beyond Race and Gender*, R. Roosevelt Thomas explains that

To succeed in this highly competitive environment [the global market and dramatically changing U.S. work force] managers must find ways to get the highest level contribution from their workers, and they will not be able to do that unless they are aware of the many ways that their understanding of diversity relates to how well, or how poorly, people contribute. [Ref. 9:p. 4]

This understanding must go beyond acknowledging that differences exist. It must go beyond acknowledging that differences make people uncomfortable. It must focus on the fact that differences bring a valuable added resource to the business equation; that being new perspectives. Through the tension oftentimes caused by differences comes creative energy and insight. [Ref. 30:p. 8]

The concept of diversity being an asset does not just apply to business. Dr. Sheila Widnall, Secretary of the Air Force, pointed out the following in a speech to the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services:

Since diversity guarantees criticism, because of differing opinions and viewpoints, it fuels the vitality of an organization. Another obvious benefit is the effect of a positive working environment on productivity. Service members who enjoy coming to work, who are relaxed instead of defensive or stressed in their work setting, are going to do a better job. People who feel valued and competent are going to be happier and perform better for their units. They're going to commit to the organizational goals and do their best for the team. In that sense, diversity is a readiness issue. We owe it to the American people to do the very best that we can, to use the strengths of all our people. [Ref. 31]

This thought was expanded by President Clinton in his State of the Union address before Congress on February 4th, 1997 when he told Americans that they must never consider our country's diversity to be a weakness, because it is our greatest strength. [Ref. 32]

Just as valuing diversity can increase productivity, so can not valuing it decrease productivity. The psychological problems associated with assimilation were mentioned earlier in this chapter, but these problems are not just associated with the person that is "different." There is a cost for the majority member as well. Barbara A. Walker, Vice-President of Human Resources and Human Relations for the University of Cincinnati points out that when confronted by deviations from what is considered the norm, people tend to close ranks with people like themselves; responding like victims which expends energy and sacrifices personal empowerment. [Ref. 30:p. 11] John P. Fernandez went even further to state that "the inherent negative impact of racism creates tremendous stress and conflicts, and it is clear that

many employees, especially those with racist attitudes, are in states of constant stress that effectively render them mentally ill." [Ref. 33:p. 159] That cost to the individual is transferred to the organization in lost productivity. In studying the cost of racism in corporate America, Fernandez notes that one *Fortune 500* company estimated its loss due to racism and sexism to be between \$20 million and \$40 million. [Ref. 33:p. 157] The cost of racism, sexism, ageism, etc. is normally thought of relative to the victim, but researchers now realize that cost is borne by everybody.

#### **F. POWER**

Power is defined as "the influence of one person over others, stemming from an individual characteristic, an interpersonal relationship, a position in an organization, or membership in a societal group." [Ref. 34:p. 96] Power is a necessary ingredient for the "isms" (i.e., racism, sexism, ageism, anti-Semitism, etc.) of the world to work. Power is not only the cause of these "isms" it is the result as well. [Ref. 34:p. 96] One group, the dominant group, has power over the other group. That group then intentionally or unintentionally uses that power in order to cause and maintain its status as the dominant group and consequently, the oppression of the other group. That power can come in many different forms, such as physical power, economic power, position power, academic power, political power, and religious power. In her research on gender stereotypes and roles, Susan Basow argues that "gender is about power and inequality, not just about difference." [Ref. 35:p. 305] She describes through various studies how gender conditioning permeates the relationship between power and sexism.

Gender stereotypes suggest that in terms of personality traits, women should be less dominant and have less need for power than men. Although no evidence supports this stereotypic idea (Winter, 1988), how power and dominance are displayed seems very much a function

of gender roles, expectations and experiences. For example, when college students who differ in the dominance trait are paired, the high-dominant individual tends to assume leadership the vast majority of the time, except when the high-dominant individual is a female paired with a male. In such pairings, the male usually assumes leadership, despite his lower dominance score (Fleischer & Chertkoff, 1986; Megargee, 1969; Nyquist & Spence, 1986). [Ref. 35:p. 72]

She uses gender conditioning to explain why men dominate the labor force.

With respect to the labor force, males are socialized to take an active role in it and to compete for positions of power and status. Females primarily are socialized to be mothers, and to care for and nurture others. Therefore, females tend not to be as career or achievement-oriented as males, and they gravitate towards human service and low-level jobs that require little commitment. Males, in contrast, are concerned about achievement, competition, status, and power in the workforce, as elsewhere. [Ref. 35:p. 268]

Gender Conditioning is just one way that power remains in male hands, structural power is another way. Those in power, White males, perpetuate their own power. This is facilitated by the patriarchal society in which we live. Basow points out that our public policy and our laws are made mostly by White males and that they reflect a "patriarchal world view where White Christian middle-class heterosexual men are the norm and women are defined mainly by their sexual and reproductive role." [Ref. 35:p. 305] Table 2.1 notes the percentage of males in government and legal positions.

**Table 2.1. Percentages of Males in Government and Legal Positions**

	1979	1989
U. S. Population	48.7	48.7
U.S. Congress	97	94
U.S. Supreme Court	100	89
Federal Judgeships	95	96
Governorships	96	94
State legislatures	90	83
Statewide elective offices	89	86
County governing boards	97	91
Mayorships and councilorships	92	87

\*Source: Data compiled by the center for the American Woman and Politics [Ref. 35:p. 295]

The concept of power is not just important in understanding why sexism and racism and other "isms" developed and exist today, it is also a vital concept in understanding how they can be eliminated. The ability and perhaps the responsibility for change lies with those that have the power in our society. In introducing their collection of works on racism and its effect on white Americans, Benjamin Bower and Raymond Hunt note the following:

The struggles of racially distinct peoples in the United States have been primarily for physical and cultural survival: to protest and to insist on fairness and relief from stigma and discriminatory treatment. This is a reactive role: Even in the rare moments when protest and militancy win concessions, the power actually to make desired changes lies not

among people of color but elsewhere. As a necessity, their cries for change must be supported by some combination of a predominantly white Congress, white Supreme Court justices, the white media, white labor, a white business community, and white public opinion. Change must begin with those who control and have the power to affect this nation's institutions and belief systems, that is, with white Americans. Nowhere else does the leverage exist for long-term and enlightened social progress. [Ref. 33:p. xiv]

#### G. PRIVILEGE

Most people like to believe that whatever degree of success they have experienced in life is totally due to effort on their part. To be confronted with the possibility that some portion of that success might be an unsolicited function of an individual's gender or skin color is unsettling and difficult to accept. One researcher that writes extensively on male privilege and white privilege described white privilege in this manner:

I've come to see [white privilege] as an invisible package of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in on each day, but about which I was meant to remain oblivious. In fact, white privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks. [Ref. 33:p. 20]

Writing about White male privilege in 1988, P. McIntosh listed 15 "privileges" that can be found in most White males' "knapsack of privilege." Those privileges are listed in Table 2.2.

**Table 2.2. The Knapsack of Male Privilege**

1.	I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to "the person in charge," I will be facing a person of my gender and race.
2.	I can turn on the television or open to the front page (or to a history, art or music text) and see people of my race and gender widely (and positively) represented.
3.	Whether I use checks, credit cards, or cash, I can count on my race or gender not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.
4.	I can be pretty sure of having my voice heard in a group in which I am the only member of my race or gender.
5.	When I am shown about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my sex or race made it what it is.
6.	I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my gender or race.
7.	I am never asked to speak for all members of my race or gender group.
8.	I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.
9.	My gender and race give me little concern about ignoring the perspectives and powers of women and racial minorities.
10.	I am not made acutely aware that my shape, color, being, or body odor will be taken as a reflection on my gender and race ethnicity.
11.	I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having my co-workers on the job suspect that I got it because of my gender or race.
12.	I can be pretty sure of finding people who will be willing to talk with me and advise me about my next steps professionally.
13.	I can think over many options, social, political, imaginative, or professional, without asking whether a person of my gender or race would be accepted or allowed to do what I want to do.

**Table 2.2 (Continued)**

14.	I can easily find academic courses which give attention only to members of my gender or race.
15.	I can expect figurative language and imagery in all of the arts to testify to experiences of my gender and race.

\*Source: McIntosh, P. (1988) White privilege and male privilege: A personal account of coming to see correspondences through work in women's studies, (Working Paper No. 189). Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.

## **H. RACISM**

The very word "racism" conjures up images of hate and ignorance, yet the concept of racism is much more complex than simple hate or ignorance. In 1972, James M. Jones conducted research on peoples' psychic structure and discovered that three different types of racism were prevalent in most Americans: individual, institutional, and cultural. [Ref. 33:p. 1] Jones notes that the individual racist is

one who considers that Black people (or people of color) as a group are inferior to Whites because of physical (genotypical and phenotypical) traits. [She or] he further believes that these physical traits are determinants of (inferior) social behavior and moral or intellectual qualities, and ultimately presumes that this inferiority is a legitimate basis for inferior social treatment of black people (or people of color) in American society. [Ref. 33:p. 2]

This form of racism is probably the best understood form by most people. It has been studied in the form of prejudice and stereotypes. [Ref. 33:p. 10] This form of racism is easy to detect and socially unacceptable. When a White person states "I'm not a racist," it's this type of racism to which he or she is normally referring.

Institutional racism is a much more complex concept because it may not be deliberate, yet its effects can be overwhelming. Institutional racism is defined as "those established laws, customs, and practices which systematically reflect and produce racial inequalities in American society...whether or not the individuals maintaining those practices have racist intentions." [Ref. 33:p. 2] An obvious example of institutional racism is a company that requires its executives to have degrees from particular academic institutions that historically have very small percentages of minority representation in their student bodies. A less obvious example is a Board of Directors that subconsciously chooses to fill senior management positions by selecting from an equally qualified pool of candidates those individuals who attend the same churches, or are involved in the same recreational activities, or belong to the same clubs, or that otherwise "fit" the Board's collective idea of a cultural norm for a senior executive.

The Marine Corps experienced charges of institutional racism in October, 1993, when the television program *60 Minutes* aired an interview with then-Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Carl Mundy. The General explained that one reason minority officers historically had not done as well as White officers on promotion boards was because of lower marks received at The Basic School(TBS) in areas such as the rifle range and swim qualification. [Ref. 36] This example illustrates the complexity of institutional racism. While it's fairly obvious, given the combat mission of the Marine Corps, that shooting skills and swimming capability are reasonable criteria in officer evaluations, the question becomes one of "Should the Marine Corps be doing more to improve these skills in minorities and has the institution been practicing institutional racism by not doing so in the past?" The concept of power discussed earlier in this chapter and its self-perpetuating nature is

often a reflection of institutional racism. Institutional racism develops from cultural racism. [Ref. 33:p. 10]

Cultural racism is

the conscious or subconscious conviction that white Euro-American cultural patterns and practices as reflected in economics, music, art, religious tenets, and so forth, are superior to those of other visible racial/ethnic groups (i.e., Native, Asian, Hispanic, and black Americans). [Ref. 33:p. 3]

This is the most difficult form of racism to combat because of its deep roots in childhood development. When a child is exposed to this form of racism in church, in school, and in his or her home, a social conditioning effect takes place. As long as Anglo-American standards of cultural acceptability are seen as superior, there can never be true equality in America because all other groups will continue to be seen as inferior by definition. [Ref. 33:p. 17]

Racism has historically been studied from the victim's perspective, but as noted in the section on power, it is White people that have the capability of stopping racism and yet very little is known about White racial identity. In 1994, J. E. Helms published his White racial identity theory. [Ref. 33:p. 3] James M. Jones and Robert T. Carter note that

white racial identity theory allows for an understanding of various psychological expressions or resolutions regarding a person's own racial group membership and provides insight into how a person's own view of a racial self influences in turn views of other racial groups. Understanding a person's racial world view from the perspective of racial identity theory also reveals how a person participates in and understands individual, institutional, and cultural racism. Having a

knowledge of racial identity can serve to deepen our understanding of the mechanism used to maintain racism in all forms. [Ref. 33:p. 4]

Table 2.3 summarizes Helms' six statuses.

**Table 2.3. Helms' Six Statuses of White Racial Identity**

<b>Contact.</b>	Attitudes about minorities are externally derived and held in simple, unexamined ways. The person is only slightly aware of race and racial issues and is not aware of White privilege or racism on his or her part
<b>Disintegration.</b>	Awareness of inequality results in inner conflict. Most information about race, the individual's and others' races, comes from other people (stereotypes) vice personal exploration. Characterized by feelings of guilt, shame, helplessness that can lead to avoiding minorities, or denying racism exists or at least that Whites are not responsible for it.
<b>Reintegration.</b>	This follows disintegration and is characterized by regaining psychological equilibrium. It affirms White superior social status as justified based on merit. Negative stereotypes are reinforced. It is characterized by very prejudiced attitudes.
<b>Pseudo-Independence.</b>	A reexamination of ideas and knowledge about race. Recognize White responsibility for racism. While stereotypes still dominate, some are being questioned. Characterized by an emotional distance.
<b>Immersion-Emersion.</b>	Myths about minorities and Whites are recognized as such. People come to terms with race. Historical and present day perspectives of oppression are understood. An individual may fight against racism by changing other Whites' opinions rather than focusing on minority victims.
<b>Autonomy.</b>	The final status. A new meaning of Whiteness is internalized. An individual can have racial pride without superiority over others. Race is an accepted and valued part of an individual. Open to new information about race and able to benefit from that information. Able to abandon cultural, personal, and institutional racism.

\*Source: James M. Jones and Robert T. Carter *Racism and White Identity* Impacts of Racism on White Americans, pp. 5-8. [Ref. 33:pp. 5-8]

The issue of White pride noted in the Autonomy state of Helms' theory is a concept raised by many of the organizations studied in Chapter III of this thesis. It is often a very difficult concept for White people to accept, yet as noted in the table above, it is a critical element in achieving Helms' most advanced state of mind. One highly successful consultant noted the following:

Collective pride, which is a form of nourishing, group self-love, is an emotional experience that many white people find elusive. I want to be clear about what I mean by pride- for, even as I write, there is an increase in various forms of supremacy, or separatist or nationalist groups using the idea of "pride" as a framework for their philosophy based on hate. When I talk about pride, I am using the word in its purest sense, like love in its purest sense. The paradox, that we can only love someone else to the extent that we love ourselves, applies to "pride" as well. I am not talking about false pride, the pride that says, "I am something and you are nothing." I am talking about the pride that says, "To the extent that I can love and appreciate myself, I can love and appreciate you." In collective pride we say, "To the extent that I can love and appreciate my group's difference, I can love and appreciate yours." [Ref. 33:p. 42]

Helms' theory is not just applicable to individuals. His states of White consciousness can be applied to institutions as well as society in general. His ideas will be used throughout this thesis.

## **I. THE BELIEF IN HUMAN GOODNESS**

Humankind has argued for centuries over the issue of original sin and whether or not a child is born innocent and then becomes corrupted by social contact or is born corrupted and obtains virtue through salvation. Many people have deeply held religious beliefs on this subject. While this debate is well beyond the scope of this thesis, certain aspects of it must be addressed here because they are relevant to much

of the theory behind the workshops discussed in Chapter III. Most of those workshops operate on the assumption that a baby is born innocent, that the child possesses an inherent goodness that is his or her "true nature." Lillian Roybal Rose, an educator and highly respected consultant on cross-cultural communications, wrote this on the subject:

I then ask people to shift to a "workable" frame of reference that begins with an article of faith—that all of us are born intelligent, good, loving, curious, and with a zest for life, and that through introspection, emotional healing, and personal commitment, whether we are in a target or a nontarget group we can confront social oppression in ourselves and our surroundings, and so make our world a more equitable and creative place to live (Jackins, 1978). Having made this shift, we then proceed to explore information that can help clarify commonly held misconceptions and confusion about racism. [Ref. 33:p. 29]

In an article Rose wrote on counseling White allies about racism, she emphasizes again the "article of faith" discussed above and explains how a White child, born innocent, becomes a victim of social conditioning that leads to racial oppression. [Ref. 33:p. 30] This concept is important because it lies at the center of the issue of guilt. Rose notes

In my experience it serves no purpose to blame or shame Whites about racism - this only exploits the confusion and does not produce positive results. Rather, my approach is to help both Whites (nontargets of racism) and People of Color (targets of racism) move from positions of guilt and shame, or from rage and blame, to more "workable" frames of reference-toward the building of alliances. [Ref. 33:p. 25]

Many would argue that there is an attempt being made with this argument to shift blame, "it's not my fault I did this terrible hate crime, I was conditioned that

way." That is not the case, neither Rose nor the organizations studied in Chapter III argue that a person is not accountable for his or her actions, merely that a person is not born racist, or sexist, or any other form of oppressor, that something happens that makes a person end up that way and that something can be reversed.

## **J. CONCLUSION**

This chapter started by reviewing the literature concerning the significance of diversity issues in 1997. The author suggests there are four reasons why diversity training is relevant.

1. Changing demographics demand it.
2. Legal requirements demand it.
3. It's the morally right thing to do.
4. It's a productivity issue and economic common sense demands it.

The degree of importance or relevancy that an individual, corporation, or institution places on one or more of these reasons will vary by individual or collective personality. Someone who is solely concerned with making money would care a great deal about productivity issues and might not care at all about what is morally right or wrong. On the hand, an individual or institution concerned with what is good for society or humankind as a whole would care very deeply about what is morally right or wrong, and may not care what the economic costs are. These four reasons for the relevancy of diversity training apply across a broad spectrum of individual and collective philosophies.

The concepts of culture, assimilation, social conditioning, privilege, power, oppression, and racism are critical in understanding diversity issues. These concepts

help explain why discrimination is so deeply embedded in our national conscious, so hard to identify, and so difficult to root out. These concepts are addressed throughout the remainder of this thesis. Chapter III looks at how a few select groups that are dedicated to eradicating discrimination and oppression utilize these concepts in their workshops. Chapter IV examines how these concepts relate to the Marine Corps and what the Marine Corps is doing to address the problems associated with these concepts. Chapter V is the author's critique of the Marine Corps' plan and his recommendations for addressing these issues. There are no simple answers to these problems, if there were, the blight of discrimination would have been solved a long time ago. However, if the issues discussed in this chapter are not addressed, they have the potential of becoming this country's greatest threat to stability and security.

### III. COALITION BUILDING AND PERSONAL GROWTH WORKSHOPS

#### A. INTRODUCTION

This grassroots movement has worked successfully...to improve race relations and promote a greater understanding of and appreciation for diversity. Elected officials and public servants are asked daily to address the need for cooperation and understanding in our own communities which continue to grapple with racial tensions and group polarization. NCBI works to reframe issues of diversity with the purpose of reformulating public policy and building bridges within communities fractured by competing interests. The Honorable Louise Slaughter [D-NY] [Ref. 37]

This chapter analyzes the work being done by several different organizations at the international, national, and community levels that have as their goal the elimination of discrimination of all types. These workshops have a common technique of using personal testimony of the hurtful effects of discrimination to heighten participants' awareness of the problem. The overriding point of the often-times emotional testimony in the workshops centers on the right of all human beings to be treated with dignity.

The author of this thesis attended several different workshops hosted by two of these organizations. This chapter discusses the content of these workshops and the author's observations as to how various events or presented theories appeared to affect participants. Chapters IV and V discuss the applicability of specific content to the Marine Corps. The author acknowledges a certain degree of bias associated with being a participant in a workshop as opposed to being an observer. However, as a Marine officer himself, the author found it valuable to be able to question a workshop

leader or raise an issue over something another participant said that would more than likely be a typical reaction from other Marine officers. Certain workshops were purposely repeated not only so the author could observe the reactions of a different set of participants, but also so he could take a more neutral observer stance in workshops where he had been a very active participant.

As noted in the introductory chapter, it has never been the policy of the armed forces to eliminate all forms of discrimination within their ranks. Discrimination of certain types, (e.g, intelligence level, weight, height, physical fitness level) is necessary in order to maintain a highly disciplined, effective fighting force. Since the organizations reported on in this chapter wish to end discrimination of all types, it is obvious that not all of their theories and techniques are going to be applicable to the military. Indeed, some of the theories are at complete odds, or even hostile towards the military. However, that does not necessarily render them useless. An understanding of the principle behind the theory can possibly lead to sufficient deviation from a theory as to make it compatible with a military environment and still be effective in fighting discrimination.

## **B. NATIONAL COALITION BUILDING INSTITUTE (NCBI)**

NCBI is actually an international organization. Headquartered in Washington D.C., at the time of this thesis' writing, it has 39 chapters in cities throughout the United States as well as chapters in Canada, England, Ireland, and Switzerland. Originally founded by Sherry Brown in 1984, NCBI grew out of her efforts to improve relations between Jewish and African-American communities and between Arab and Jewish communities. Today NCBI works to improve relations between all peoples. The organization's stated mission is:

The National Coalition Building Institute is dedicated to ending the mistreatment of every group whether it stems from nationality, race, class, gender, religion, sexual orientation, age, physical ability, job, or life circumstance. The world is entering an historic new period that requires bold and courageous leadership. All of the programs of the National Coalition Building Institute aim to develop this new kind of leader: one who initiates diversity programs, takes principled and courageous stands, can enter the heat of emotional group conflict and build bridges, and models being a fierce ally for all groups. NCBI trains community leaders from every field in the skills of prejudice reduction, intergroup conflict resolution, and coalition building. NCBI trained leaders work together in multicultural teams and empower others to eliminate the harmful effects of institutionalized discrimination, enabling groups from diverse backgrounds to work together toward shared goals. [Ref. 37]

The list of organizations that have contracted with, consulted, worked with, or otherwise have become affiliated with NCBI is extensive. Table 3.1 represents some of the more well-known organizations and demonstrates the wide variety of different organizations that have worked with NCBI.

**Table 3.1. Well-known Organizations That Have Worked with NCBI**

<b>The United States Congress.</b>	Working with Congresswoman Louise Slaughter in 1993, NCBI conducted prejudice reduction programs for members of Congress and their staff.
<b>The National League of Cities.</b>	Since 1993, this organization has sponsored coalition building seminars at National Conferences for Mayors.
<b>New York State Governor's Office.</b>	In 1994, NCBI trained thousands of state employees.

**Table 3.1 (Continued)**

<b>Police Departments.</b>	NCBI has worked with police departments in Washington D.C.; Montgomery, AL; Allentown, PA; Santa Cruz, CA; and Los Angeles, CA (after the Rodney King incident).
<b>Universities.</b>	Over 150 universities, including Albany, Delaware, Denver, Hawaii, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Nebraska, New England, North Carolina, North Texas, Puget Sound, George Mason, Georgetown Law.
<b>Public Schools.</b>	NCBI has trained thousands of high school students, teachers, administrators, and even elementary school children.
<b>Corporations.</b>	Dupont, Flagstar (owners of Denny's Restaurants, after their highly publicized racial discrimination lawsuit).

\*Source: NCBI.

The author attended three separate one-day workshops sponsored by the Monterey, California Chapter of NCBI and a three-day "Train the Trainer" workshop sponsored by the Nashville, Tennessee Chapter and taught by NCBI's associate director, Alvin Herring. The first two workshops were described as prejudice reduction workshops with the stated objectives that participants would learn to welcome diversity, heal the hurts caused by oppression, learn to become better allies for each other, learn how to intervene in the face of oppressive remarks and slurs, and learn to communicate across cultural, social, racial, gender, and economic differences. The third workshop was called "Jews and Allies" and was oriented specifically towards ending anti-Jewish oppression.

## 1. The One-Day Workshop

The first and second workshops used what NCBI calls "the prejudice reduction workshop model." NCBI has patented this model and requires strict adherence to the entire model for those conducting workshops under the NCBI label. [Ref. 38:p. 1]. In each case, there was one person in charge of the workshop who was assisted by five or six trainers. The number of trainers was relatively constant, even though there were over 40 participants at the first workshop and only 10 at the second. Some of the participants were being sponsored by their employers with the idea that the workshop would be beneficial to their job productivity, others were there for their own personal reasons. In neither workshop was any participant required to participate in the workshop.

During both workshops, the NCBI format was strictly followed, with many trainers reading from prepared scripts. The workshop description that follows applies to both the first and second workshops with significant differences and important points of concurrence noted. Table 3.2 lists the parts to the one day model and the allotted time. The model is discussed in detail following the table.

**Table 3.2. NCBI One-day Workshop Model**

<b>INTRODUCTIONS</b>	<b>10 MINUTES</b>
<b>UP/DOWN</b>	<b>10 MINUTES</b>
<b>PAIRS</b>	<b>10 MINUTES</b>
<b>FIRST THOUGHTS</b>	<b>30 MINUTES</b>
<b>INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION</b>	<b>25 MINUTES</b>
<b>PRIDE</b>	<b>25 MINUTES</b>
<b>IT'S GREAT TO BE</b>	<b>15 MINUTES</b>
<b>CAUCUSES</b>	<b>60 MINUTES</b>
<b>LUNCH</b>	<b>60 MINUTES</b>

**Table 3.2 (Continued)**

<b>SPEAK OUTS</b>	<b>60 MINUTES</b>
<b>ROLE PLAYING: SHIFTING ATTITUDES</b>	<b>45 MINUTES</b>
<b>CLOSING</b>	<b>15 MINUTES</b>

\*Source: Train-The-Trainer Workbook, NCBI Nashville Chapter 1995-1996.

The model started with an introduction of the trainers and an explanation of NCBI's purpose. All participants were asked to make a confidentiality agreement that allows for future discussion of events and occurrences, but only in generic terms that prevent attribution to a particular individual. Each participant was asked to stand and introduce himself/herself. The objectives of the workshop were posted and read. These objectives differed somewhat from those listed on the advertising flyer. Table 3.3 lists these objectives.

**Table 3.3 NCBI One-Day Workshop Objectives**

<b>1. To discuss information/misinformation we've learned about other groups</b>
<b>2. To identify/express pride in the groups to which we belong</b>
<b>3. To learn how groups other than our own experience mistreatment</b>
<b>4. To learn the personal impact of specific incidents of discrimination</b>
<b>5. To learn how to interrupt prejudicial jokes, remarks, and slurs</b>

\*Source: Presented verbally at the workshops.

The first exercise was called "Up/Down." The purpose was to recognize the fact that we have many social identifiers. It showed how much diversity existed within the workshop and that even members of the so called "majority" were still very

diverse within that category. The exercise also served as an ice-breaker in that it was a relatively painless form of participation that involved everybody and seemed to relax the group as a whole. A trainer named a characteristic of a group of people and everybody that identified with that characteristic was to stand up and be recognized if they so desired. Social identifier categories included place of birth, race, heritage, religion, economic class, number of siblings, sexual orientation, physical disabilities, rural upbringing, parents, grandparents, married, single, children of alcoholics and/or drug abusers, single parents, children of single parents, people raised as a minority in their neighborhood/school, and others. The participants were encouraged to add additional categories.

The second exercise, called "pairs" involved pairing up with another participant who was a stranger and listing the various groups to which each belongs. The trainer then asked for a show of hands of people that found the exercise difficult. Those that found it difficult were asked to explain why. The answers showed that many people felt uncomfortable being categorized or had not really considered themselves part of a group (true of many majority groups such as White, Protestant, Middle-Class, etc.).

The third exercise, called "First Thoughts," was preceded by a short lecture dealing with learned prejudices and stereotypes. It was explained that what a person was told, or conditioned to believe as a child, functioned as a subconscious record that played in an individual's mind. The record could be recognized as such and dismissed, but it would still always be there in a person's subconscious. It was emphasized that nobody chose to have this record implanted, that all people were born innocent and then subjected to prejudicial conditioning, not by request. The purpose of this exercise was for an individual to acknowledge that "the record" exists,

acknowledge his or her feelings surrounding that record, and to hear how the stereotype or prejudice affects people of the stereotyped group.

Participants paired off with somebody they didn't know to do the exercise looking at their personal "recordings" regarding a group of which neither participant was a member. For example, two women could choose the group "male," and then take turns describing their first thoughts about that group. One participant would start by saying the name of the group seven times in different tones of voice, and each time the other person described his or her first thoughts with no filtering. When the full workshop reconvened, volunteers described their reactions to the exercise. Numerous stereotypes of different groups were vocalized, with most volunteers appearing uneasy while participating. Participants who were members of the group being stereotyped were then asked to describe how it felt to hear the stereotypes of their particular group. In both workshops, many people admitted they could not bring themselves to do this exercise without filtering their first thoughts.

The fourth exercise called "Internalized Oppression" again involved pairing up with an unknown person. Participants chose a group to which they belonged and were told to describe what they didn't like about others of that group. The participant, pretending that the partner was a member of that group, was to point his or her finger at the partner and start each sentence with "what I can't stand about you (insert group) is that you...." The purpose of this exercise was to demonstrate the strong emotional feelings associated with internalized oppression. Many participants found this exercise to be more difficult than the previous exercise. Volunteers again shared with the group why they found this exercise to be difficult for them. Almost every participant indicated a feeling of somehow betraying his or her group. The NCBI Trainer's handbook points out that many people object to this exercise because it reinforces stereotypes about a particular group in front of other groups. NCBI,

however, argues that the opposite happens, that when people become aware of the strong emotional effects of internalized oppression they have a greater appreciation for the destructive capability of discrimination. [Ref. 38:p. 15]

The exercise called "Pride" is designed to be the opposite of the internalized oppression exercise. Working in pairs, the participants had the opportunity to express the positive feelings they had towards their group. This exercise is designed to be uplifting, but many people found it more difficult to express pride in their group than to criticize their group. When questioned on this issue, the trainer responded that being unable to feel pride about a particular group a person happens to be a member of is another form of internalized oppression. NCBI acknowledges that some people have difficulty with the concept of pride and points out in their workbook the difference between pride and chauvinism. [Ref. 38:p. 17] NCBI further points out that people who do not have full and complete pride in their group are not just ineffective in fighting discrimination, but often act out their absence of healthy pride by participating in discrimination. [Ref. 38:p. 18]

The exercise entitled "It's Great to Be" operates on the same principle as the "Pride" exercise. Participants choose a group they found it difficult to feel pride in and enthusiastically express pride in being part of that group. In both workshops, the people that expressed the most difficulty in this exercise tended to come from majority or dominant groups such as White males. Members of this group often expressed feelings of guilt, which matches the description of Helm's White racial identity category "disintegration" discussed in Chapter II.

The previous exercises were of relatively short duration. Starting with the exercise called "Caucuses," the exercises were longer and tended to be more emotionally charged. The "Caucuses" exercise commenced with the participants brainstorming identifying groups that had been historically discriminated against. It

was not necessary for a person to be a member of a group in order to list it. The length of the lists produced in both seminars (over 50 different groups in each case) clearly demonstrated the broad scope of discrimination. Participants were next asked to select a particular group they wished to speak about for the exercise. They could only be a member of one group and they had to actually belong to that group (e.g., to be a member of the Latino Caucus, a person had to be Latino). There had to be at least two people to form a caucus, other groups were eliminated from the list. In a few cases, if an individual felt strongly enough that his or her group should be heard, and there was nobody else to form a caucus, then one of the trainers would act as an "ally" so that individual could be heard. Caucuses then were sent to different areas of the room to prepare a report based on the question, "what do you never again want people to say, think, or do toward your group?" Groups were also told to come up with one thought about their group that they felt was important for people to know. When the workshop reassembled, each caucus in turn went to the front of the room and gave its report. The entire workshop provided positive reinforcement after each report. After all caucuses had spoken, the trainer asked the workshop as a whole what, if anything, had impressed them or what was new information. In both workshops, people claimed to have learned information about various groups they didn't know before. Many people admitted to being emotionally moved by a particular report. The degree of participation and willingness to express opinions increased significantly from the "Caucus" exercise until the completion of the workshops.

The exercise called "Speak-Outs" is the most effective part of the one-day workshop. [Ref. 38:p. 24] An individual was chosen by each trainer and asked if he or she would be willing to share a story of sometime in his or her life when he or she had experienced discrimination. The trainers picked a diverse group of 3 or 4

speakers so that experience with different kinds of discrimination were verbalized. The exercise started with the individual telling his or her story to the entire workshop. Once the story was told, the trainer and the volunteer role-played the story with the trainer playing the role of the offender. The volunteer was encouraged to speak "from the gut" to the trainer, telling the trainer what he or she would have liked to have said to the offender at the time of the incident. The trainer offered the volunteer a "venting" opportunity by placing his hands folded in front of him and encouraging the volunteer to shake them while speaking. The trainer repeated the offending statements over and over again. The effect was to assist the participant in releasing pent-up emotions. When the role-playing was finished, the trainer asked for a show of hands from the audience of those that would take a stand against that type of discrimination in the future.

After the volunteer sat down, the trainer asked if the story had brought up anything for anybody in the audience. In both workshops, people expressed how moved they were by particular stories. Many people related similar stories that had happened to them. To conclude the exercise, participants were again placed in pairs and told to discuss their feelings about the stories they had heard.

The final exercise of the workshop was called "Role Plays: Shifting Attitudes." The exercise is designed to teach people how to intervene in the face of offensive comments in a positive way that might change the attitude of the person making the offensive comments. NCBI leaders quickly admit that this is the most controversial section of their workshop. [Ref. 39] The theory behind the technique is that people normally respond to an offensive comment by either saying nothing or by "telling off" the person that made the offensive comment. NCBI points out that while "telling off" the person may make you feel good, it does nothing to change the other person's attitude and may in fact cause deeper resentment on that individual's

part. [Ref. 38:p. 30] That deeper resentment could lead to increased offensive comments in the future. NCBI encourages participants to engage the person who made the offensive comment in conversation. The person who made the offensive remark may have what NCBI refers to as an "ouch," a hidden reason for disliking a particular group of people, such as a bad experience with a person that belonged to that group. NCBI believes that using a non-threatening tone and being careful not to come across as "superior," a person has a better chance of "getting at the ouch" and perhaps changing someone's attitude. [Ref. 38:p. 30]

The exercise started with participants brainstorming offensive remarks they had heard in social circles or at work. The trainers picked two remarks from those mentioned and asked for volunteers to role-play the scenarios in which the remarks were made. The person doing the intervening was encouraged to give an initial "gut" response to the person playing the bigot. This was an angry response in each case. The trainers reemphasized the point each time that while an angry response makes a person feel good for having "done something," it does nothing to change attitudes. The person intervening was then encouraged to try the NCBI method described above. In one particular case, a women was very successful in using sarcasm to make the other person realize how foolish his remark was. The other scenarios were less effective, as noted by the number of dissenting opinions offered at the completion of the exercise.

The workshops ended with participants relating things that had most effected them throughout the day. There was also a large amount of appreciation expressed for various trainers and for various participants that people felt had made a significant impact on the group as a whole. Both workshops ended on a highly positive note with everyone expressing satisfaction at having attended.

## 2. Jews And Allies

This workshop was also sponsored by the Monterey, California Chapter of NCBI. It differed from the other two workshops in that it dealt only with discrimination against Jews. While the Monterey chapter had sponsored numerous NCBI standard one-day prejudice reduction workshops, this was the first workshop they had sponsored dealing solely with Jewish discrimination and as such, it was experimental in nature. All participants were supposed to have participated previously in an NCBI workshop or similar training. Participants were fairly well split between Jews and Allies (Non-Jewish people that were supportive of ending oppression against Jews) with roughly 25 of each present. After introductions and an explanation of what would take place throughout the day, participants were split into a Jewish group and an Allies group. The groups went to different rooms and were not rejoined until the end of the workshop. The Allies group spent the day learning about Jewish oppression and relating experiences where they witnessed or participated in Jewish oppression. The NCBI techniques for intervention in the face of offensive remarks (described in the last section) were taught.

The Jewish group discussed what it was like growing up Jewish, painful past experiences with oppression, and internalized oppression. The same intervention techniques were used. When the two groups met at the end of the day for closing comments, a similar theme emerged. People in both groups disliked being split and spending the day apart. From the author's point of view, this workshop lacked the intensity of the previous two workshops. Hearing about Jewish oppression from people that had not experienced it first-hand (Non-Jews) did not have the same impact as hearing discrimination stories in the other workshops. Similarly, many of those in the Jewish group remarked that the people that needed to hear their stories were the

Non-Jews. From the author's point of view, this workshop served to validate the importance of the "Speak-Out" section of the standard NCBI one-day workshop.

### **3. Train-the-Trainer Workshop**

The train-the-trainer workshop was significant for many different reasons. First, it was taught by Alvin Herring, the associate director of NCBI, who agreed to be interviewed by the author. Second, it took place in Nashville, Tennessee, which brought in different regional issues than those encountered in Monterey, California. Third, the participants were mostly high-school students, their teachers and their principals. The last point is very significant because the average age of the participants was very close to the average age of new Marines. Additionally, the participation of students, teachers, and principals in the same workshop brought something close to a rank structure to the event. Herring had done workshops in the past with organizations that had people from different authority levels of the organization present for the training. He used training he had conducted with postal service employees as an example. He explained that originally people sat in sections, according to their structure in the organization (i.e., top management, middle management, letter carriers) and that the atmosphere in the room was one of reservation. Once he mingled people throughout the room, participation increased dramatically. [Ref. 39]

The first day of the workshop was devoted to running a standard NCBI one-day prejudice reduction workshop. The next two days were devoted to teaching the students how to run the one-day workshop as a trainer, and to teaching them methods and techniques to be leaders in ending discrimination in their own schools. It became evident from the very start that the primary issue of concern for those present was race, specifically Black verse White. While there were a few students present of Asian heritage and one of Hispanic heritage, the rest of the group was 70 percent

Black and 30 percent White. Three different high schools were represented, all racially mixed, but two predominantly Black and one predominantly White.

Of interest was how the students had come to participate in the workshop. They had been selected by their school officials to participate. They were not forced to participate if they didn't want to, but it was still not quite the same thing as being a volunteer, this was reflected by the varying degrees of initial enthusiasm the students manifested. A few readily admitted to the author that they had agreed to participate because it got them out of school for three days. There is an obvious difference in acceptability when participants are volunteers as opposed to participants that are at the workshop because it is mandatory training. Herring admits that NCBI prefers to work with people that want to conduct the training, but points to numerous organizations that have contracted with NCBI to provide mandatory training for their employees. He cited Denny's Restaurant as being one of the most successful mandatory training evolutions NCBI had conducted. [Ref. 39] He cited the Los Angeles Police Academy, where he had conducted mandatory training after the Rodney King trial, as being one of the most frustrating training evolutions he had ever conducted. The environment was hostile from the very start of the training (the police officers wore flack jackets and weapons to the training despite the fact that they were not going on patrol that day). But even in that environment, some officers eventually responded to the training and encouraged other officers to do the same. [Ref. 39] Herring's feelings on the effectiveness of mandatory training is that if only one person is changed as a result, that's one more person doing what's right that would not have been before the mandatory training. [Ref. 39]

As Herring went through the steps of the one-day workshop, he took extra time to explain the reasoning behind each exercise. He stressed the importance of encouraging participation by everybody attending the workshop, to include soliciting

information from people that are not actively participating. While cautioning against putting words in peoples' mouths, he suggested prompting individuals with personal experiences from the trainers. During the second and third day, the students practiced leading various segments of the workshop. Certain exercises that Herring considered to be particularly important were practiced repeatedly. One such exercise was "Speak-Outs." Herring emphasized the importance of selecting more useful participants to do a speak-out. Trainers were to start looking for people early in the workshop that appeared to be active participants. He stressed the need to select people that would speak on different kinds of discrimination so the workshop participants could come to understand that this is a problem that affects everyone. He particularly emphasized the need to choose someone from a group that is not normally thought of as experiencing discrimination, such as a White male. When asked why speak-outs were so important, Herring responded that "we aren't just changing opinions, we're changing hearts and stories change hearts."

Part of the training involved discussions of programs that would work at the various high schools that were participating. Herring explained that the workshop did not have to be done in one day. Acknowledging that it might be difficult to get an entire school day for training, he showed how the program could be conducted over a week or two weeks, in two-hour or one-hour periods. He explained how to prioritize different exercises based on the participants, the situation, the time blocks allotted, etc.

As noted earlier, NCBI literature insists that their workshop model be done in its entirety. What Herring was suggesting seemed to indicate otherwise. When questioned on this, Herring explained that it is still NCBI's belief that, in general, the model works best when used in it's entirety; however, NCBI recognizes that that is not the case for every situation. [Ref. 39] Herring further acknowledged that the

National organization is giving the individual city and school chapters more and more freedom to adjust their training programs as best meets the needs of their respective trainees. [Ref. 39]

### **C. CHARLES KREINER GENDER WORKSHOP**

Charles Kreiner describes himself as an independent consultant and trainer in leadership development, social oppression/liberation issues, and personal healing from the effects of social mistreatment. He has served as a Dean of Students and Faculty Fellow at Wesleyan University where he taught classes in awareness of social oppression/liberation, relationship and sexuality issues. He has spent over 20 years working with men and women on the practice and process of dismantling social discrimination and healing its effects in individuals, relationships, and institutions. On November 1-3, 1996, he held a workshop in conjunction with California State University Monterey Bay entitled, "Women and Men in the World: Work, Worth, Power and Love - Moving Beyond Sexism." Over 50 people, both male and female, participated in the three-day evolution. Many of the participants, but not all, had participated in local men's workshops and women's workshops, and a small number had participated in a Charles Kreiner workshop held the previous year. The objectives stated in the advertising are listed in Table 3.4.

**Table 3.4. Charles Kreiner Workshop Objectives**

1.	To understand the underlying dynamics of sexism - how it installs gender roles, enforces behavior patterns and otherwise dehumanizes women and men.
2.	To learn about the personal, relational, internalized, and institutionalized forms of sexism.
3.	To reveal how sexism specifically affects our sense of ourselves, our sense of our own and the other gender, and our being in the world: work, worth, power, and love.

**Table 3.4 (Continued)**

4.	To identify and establish strategies to heal the effects of sexism in our lives.
5.	To transform "victim" and "mistreated" roles, rather than defend them as identities.
6.	To take complete responsibility for ourselves and our relationship to sexism.
7.	To make males allies rather than the blame, source, or cause of sexism.
8.	To commit, as women and men, to ending sexism on behalf of ourselves and all people.
9.	To advance the dismantling of institutionalized sexism.
10.	To envision living lives in a world without sexism.

\*Source: Flyer for the Charles Kreiner Workshop.

The techniques utilized throughout the training consisted of lecture by Kreiner, personal testimony by workshop participants, role-playing, small group discussions (including permanent five-person "support groups" and rotating 3-person "discussion groups") and specific question and answer periods. Participants were encouraged to ask questions throughout the training.

As with the NCBI training, establishing an environment of safety and trust was the first order of business. All participants were asked to verbally agree to a vow of confidentiality and willingly did so. While participants are allowed to discuss the nature of the training and what took place in general terms, nothing is supposed to be attributable to an individual by name, or by description, to the point that someone could be identified. An additional aspect of this confidentiality vow was that a participant would not at a later time approach another participant and attempt to engage in conversation about a personal occurrence that he or she had shared with the group unless permission was asked first. All this was designed to encourage people to speak freely about a subject with their true feelings. People were further

encouraged to speak their first thoughts on a given subject and not to filter out information.

Kriener's lectures started by defining important terms. He defined oppression as socially condoned imbalance of political, social, and economic power. He defined sexism as oppression flowing from men to women. While he recognized the concept of reverse oppression as far as women behaving in a sexist manner towards men, he explained that this was a female reaction to the hurt females had suffered under male oppression and hence wasn't true sexism. This concept was not universally accepted by all participants, as many voiced opinions that sexism was unfair treatment of anybody due to gender difference.

Participants were divided into discussion groups. Their first topic was how sexism had affected their lives. When the participants met as a collective group again, a representative from each group listed his or her group's comments. Some major themes emerged and were expanded on by Kreiner throughout the rest of the workshop.

One of those themes concerns the socially conditioned roles males and females are indoctrinated with from the time of birth. Kreiner posits that men and women don't know about each other outside of these roles. He claims the roles are complimentary and that people spend their entire lives adapting to these roles. In an article he wrote for *Free Spirit Magazine*, he stated,

There is one human species of which there are two genders. Each is equivalently and fully human. The pull to separate human qualities into gender-based identities is all part of sexual conditioning. [Ref. 40:p. 28]

His premise is that all children are born with a "true human nature," which he calls our "inherent nature." Children are then conditioned both consciously and unconsciously by countless facets of society such as parents, siblings, other children, television, religion, school, and the government, to name just a few, into a "male role" and a "female role." No formal definitions of these roles are ever presented by Kreiner, but rather the traits attributed to the individual roles are described by the participants throughout the time frame of the workshop.

During one role playing exercise, Kreiner chose one female participant to play the part of a little boy and had four other women instruct "him" on the parameters of the socially conditioned male role. Some of the traits, conditions, goals, and requirements they listed included:

1. Aggression.
2. Violence.
3. Stoicism.
4. The need to be in charge.
5. Sexual conquest.
6. The need to win at all costs.
7. The need to assume responsibility for everything.
8. To always have an answer.
9. To assume women are irrational.
10. To placate women.
11. To protect women.

12. To never show emotions.
13. To be tough.
14. To be in control.

Kreiner further instructed the four conditioners to explain the male role around sex. The women sited many of the traits and requirements listed above with the themes of aggression and violence coming up repeatedly. During this exercise, one of the conditioners became visibly frightened. Kreiner spent the next hour focused on her, demonstrating his "healing technique" (objective #4), which is described later in this chapter. Kreiner explained to the author in a one-on-one discussion that he believed the military to be the epitome of the conditioned male role.

No similar exercise was conducted around defining the female role, however numerous references to traits and requirements such as emotional, nurturing, irrational, caring, weak, stupid, provocative, not being complete without a male, submissive, and flirtatious were attributed to the female role during Kriener's lecture and subsequent audience questions. While the conditioned male and female roles were more or less described through lecture, the concept of a human role or "inherent human nature" was not. Chapter II addressed this concept through the writings of Lillian Roybal Rose. It was not hard for participants to determine that Kriener views the human role as a "good" thing since most negative thoughts or actions were described as violating the human role and contrary to a person's true nature. When Kriener was asked directly, "What is a person's true nature?," his response was to describe a newborn baby wrapped in a white blanket (as opposed to pink or blue). That child would not have experienced any social conditioning at that point and hence, its nature at that point would be its true nature. The implication was that if that child could somehow grow up never experiencing any social conditioning, than it

would act and think in the context of a human role and not a male or female role.

Another major theme that Kriener raised throughout the workshop is the concept of a dominant role and a victim role. He describes the dominant role as being male, White, Christian, heterosexual, middle/upper-class and American. The victim role is being the opposite. Obviously a person could have social identifiers from both categories, such as being a Black male or a White female, but that doesn't stop a person from deciding what role he or she is going to assume at a given time. Kriener argues that people choose to act in the victim role or the dominant role. Neither the dominant role nor the victim role is considered "good" in the sense that it would not be a victory for a female to switch over to the dominant role or for a male to embrace the victim role. Rather the optimal solution is for both roles to be discarded and the human role to be assumed.

Kreiner theorizes that when people accept stereotyped male and female roles, they are participating in their own oppression in the form of internalized oppression. He believes people must be allowed to heal from this oppression, rather than cope with it. In Free Spirit Magazine, he stated,

Since we've been, in varying degrees, cut off from our own nature and forced into roles with unhealed pain and fear, we get addicted to ways of coping with our fear, coping with our pain - not healing it. Ours is a coping society, not a healing-based society. [Ref.40:p. 29]

Kreiner's method of healing the pain caused by gender-conditioning is to recognize it and release it. During several demonstrations of this technique, several individuals, both male and female, experienced deep emotions, crying, yelling, and lashing out with their arms and legs. While these demonstrations were similar to the NCBI "Speak-Outs," in that they involved individuals relating personal experiences

to their respective workshops, Kriener was a much more active counselor in drawing out painful memories than were the NCBI trainers. Nor did any of the four NCBI workshops the author attended ever result in the degree of high-intensity emotion displayed at the Kreiner workshop. While the "Speak-Outs" were a highly praised evolution at all the NCBI workshops, the healing demonstrations had a mixed response at the Kreiner workshop with some participants expressing very positive responses and others distrustful of the technique.

Kreiner's workshop ended with participants being asked to vocalize any changes in their lives they planned to make as a result of attending the workshop. Participants were then asked to make a pledge to themselves that they would no longer allow themselves to be placed in a victim role or would no longer act out of the oppressor role towards other people. Finally, participants were asked to pledge themselves toward making liberation work part of their lives in the future by getting actively involved in local community men's and women's groups.

#### **D. CONCLUSION**

While the various NCBI workshops and the Kreiner workshop described in this chapter are just two examples of many different training programs involving group work and active participation by trainees, they are important examples for many different reasons. Both Charles Kreiner and NCBI have been involved in their work for many years, these are not new programs designed to capitalize of the relatively recent "economic goldmine" of diversity training. While their individual programs differ in style and technique, they have some important similarities, the most important of which is to rely on the power of personal testimony to change people's hearts as well as their minds about the negative effects of discrimination. Both workshops also placed a heavy emphasis on the effects of social conditioning (e.g., NCBI's "record" and Kreiner's conditioned gender roles). In neither case was this an

attempt to shift the blame of oppressive behavior off the individual and on to "society," but rather an attempt to help people better understand why they respond to a person of a different culture, religion, race, gender, etc. the way they do.

They are also good examples to observe based on their differences. NCBI's flexibility as reflected in Herring's comment of his willingness to work within the rules and regulations of an organization [Ref. 39], in the authors opinion, make it a more effective organization. In addition, NCBI's emphasis on bridge building and conflict resolution are, relatively speaking, less radical than Kreiner's theories of doing away with all forms of coping with oppression.

## IV. THE MARINE CORPS PLAN

### A. INTRODUCTION

I want the Corps to lead the way; I want all Marines to be treated with the dignity and respect they so richly deserve; and, I want to remove any detractions from our combat readiness--and make no mistake, discrimination is a readiness issue. There can be no doubt about it--success in combat depends on our ability to fight together as a team. Discrimination or harassment in any form degrades unit cohesion and weakens our fighting power and spirit. Improving our equal opportunity climate has been and is an ongoing and important effort. [Ref. 25] General C.C. Krulak, Commandant of the Marine Corps

This chapter reviews Marine Corps plans for addressing diversity issues. It starts with the fundamental question, "Does the Marine Corps need diversity training" and progresses to analyzing training programs that are being initiated to address diversity issues now and into the future.

### B. THE PROBLEM

The first question is, "Does the Marine Corps have problems with racial issues, gender issues, class issues, religious issues, etc.?" The follow-on question is, "If there are problems, what should be done about them?"

Many people, both inside and outside the Marine Corps would argue that the answer to the first question is "no." The military services are considered to be some of the most successful organizations in the United States in the area of racial and gender integration. [Ref. 41:p. 16] While the vast majority of American businesses did not start taking racial integration seriously until the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the military officially ended segregation in April 1949, when Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson ordered that all individuals be accorded equal opportunity for appointment,

advancement, professional improvement, and promotion, regardless of race. [Ref. 2:p. 19] Opportunities for women in the military have been limited by their exclusion from combat Military Occupational Specialties (MOS), nevertheless, women of equal rank are entitled to the same pay and privileges as their male counterparts, a situation that often does not exist in the private sector.

In January, 1996, Major James W. Lukeman, USMC conducted a survey of 198 Marine captains and majors to assess their knowledge and opinions on various minority issues. One of his findings was that "The overwhelming opinion among Marine officers is that the Corps is a level playing field, that all qualified candidates have an equal opportunity to earn a commission and be successful as an officer." [Ref. 3:p. 4]

There is however, fairly overwhelming evidence that the Marine Corps does have a problem. Despite the opinions expressed in Lukeman's survey, a study conducted by the Center for Naval Analyses determined that, relative to Whites, minorities historically have been augmented and promoted to captain, major, and lieutenant colonel at lower rates, and that while there are no statistically significant differences in promotion rates for women, they do voluntarily leave the Marine Corps at higher levels than their male counterparts. [Ref. 42:p. 59]

In 1994, the Marine Corps conducted the first Marine Corps Equal Opportunity Survey (MCEOS) in order to assess the equal opportunity climate. respondents indicated that discrimination based on race and gender was a significant problem in the Marine Corps. [Ref. 25] The results of MCEOS '94 were used to design and introduce several new initiatives in 1995 to include linking equal opportunity with the Marine Corps emphasis on core values, emphasizing the commander's ultimate responsibility for creating and sustaining a fair, unbiased environment, and publishing a commander's handbook for processing equal opportunity and equal employment

opportunity complaints. [Ref. 25] When the MCEOS was fielded again in 1996, the results showed only minor improvement in opinions regarding race and gender discrimination. The Commandant of the Marine Corps published a message to all Marines (ALMAR), which he titled "a wake up call." Part of that ALMAR reads as follows:

The new results [MCEOS '96] indicate we are moving in the right direction, but at a snail's pace. If the MCEOS is our EO report card, then in 1996 we are passing and have improved slightly since 1994. But we are still a long way from the dean's list. I am not satisfied with average results or ambivalent opinions of our efforts to improve the EO climate in the Marine Corps. I expect better--much better. [Ref. 25]

Although not as quantifiable as promotion, augmentation, and retention results or survey data results, but perhaps even more indicative of race and gender problems is the prevalence of these problems reflected in today's media coverage. The October 1993, *60 Minutes* report mentioned in Chapter II, is just one of many media events that has reflected poorly on the Marine Corps. A year prior to the *60 Minutes* report, a second-generation Japanese-American brought a highly publicized lawsuit against the Marine Corps based on discrimination he had experienced while an officer candidate at Quantico, Virginia. The court found merit to his case and ordered the Marine Corps to commission the man as a captain and award him back pay from the time of his discharge from the officer candidate program. Although the Navy received the lion's share of the negative publicity surrounding the now infamous Tailhook scandal, the Marine Corps also had pilots that participated in the associated sexual harassment and sexual assaults.

The Army is currently involved in what may turn out to be the most far-reaching sexual abuse scandal in the history of the U.S. Military. In October 1996,

several male drill instructors were found to have harassed and even raped female recruits under their charge at the Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland. Investigation into those offenses led to other women coming forward with similar allegations at other Army bases across the country. In all, nearly 200 charges of misconduct were made at over 30 different bases around the world. [Ref. 43] Those accused of offenses included the Army's highest ranking enlisted soldier. Gene C. McKinney, Sergeant Major of the Army, was relieved of his duties pending investigation that he kissed and grabbed a female former aide. The charges against Sergeant Major McKinney have had a devastating effect on the morale of soldiers throughout the Army. [Ref. 44]

Whether the above-mentioned incidents dealt directly with the Marine Corps or with another branch of the Armed Forces, they are clear indications that discrimination issues are a serious detriment to the effectiveness of the United States military. Comments made before Congressional investigating committees by both legislators and testifying senior uniformed officials accurately point out that the American people expect and deserve more from their military forces. [Ref. 43]

Capt J. E. Wade's, USMC, MS thesis "Survey of Black Officers in the Marine Corps: Attitudes and Opinions on Recruiting, Retention, and Diversity" is another startling indicator of discrimination problems within the Marine Corps. Wade interviewed 15 Black Marine officers in order to determine common experiences and themes concerning their service as Marine officers. The officers were of mixed gender, various ranks, MOSs, and years of experience. All 15 officers reported having experienced some sort of racial discrimination in the Marine Corps. [Ref. 2:p. 44] The forms of discrimination ranged from open, racist jokes made by one major's commanding officer [Ref. 2:p. 47] to more subtle forms of discrimination such as a

group of Black lieutenants at The Basic School being lectured for "hanging out" together during meals. [Ref. 2:p. 47]

The latter example is particularly important because it speaks to the issue of assimilation discussed in Chapter II. The intentions of the captains who lectured the Black lieutenants were probably to end the appearance of segregation in the chow hall. Unfortunately, their approach was extremely insensitive. It would have been just as easy for White officers to have "integrated" the chow hall by sitting with the Black officers as it would have been to insist the Black officers join the White officers. Yet, the captains chose to blame the Black lieutenants for the problem and expected them to alter their behavior to remedy the situation.

Another interesting response in Wade's research was given by a colonel who addresses the issue of majority culture and how it can lead to cultural discrimination.

I don't think it was intentional or deliberate vindictive kind of action that people were taking. I think it's a lack of sensitivity, a lack of exposure, just a lack of appreciating the differences, the needs, the -- there is such a thing as a White and a Black mentality, and I guess what I'm trying to say is -- is that the Black mentality has very little effective voice in the Marine Corps. The White mentality prevails and more or less imposes their will in a pretty insensitive kind of way, if that's a better way to say what I'm trying to. [Ref. 2:p. 50]

A major theme in Wade's research was that all the officers interviewed felt that they had to perform better than their White counterparts to get the same degree of recognition. They felt that Black officers were held to a higher standard than White officers. [Ref. 2:p. 52] If indeed the Marine Corps is a meritocracy, then the standards should be the same for all.

Based on all the above indicators, it is clear the Marine Corps does have problems, in terms of gender and racial discrimination. The next question becomes, "What should the Marine Corps do about these problems?"

### **C. POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS**

There are several different options available to the Marine Corps. The first option would be to do nothing. Moral issues aside, the "ignore it and hope it goes away" method of problem solving would be a realistic option if ignoring the problem did not have such serious ramifications for the Marine Corps. The nature of those ramifications has been articulated repeatedly by General Krulak since becoming Commandant; the opening quote to this chapter is one example. Additionally, the demographic information examined in Chapter II indicates that the problem is not likely to go away.

The second option is to order the problem to go away. The Marine Corps has been employing this option, to varying degrees, for many years. The rules and regulations reviewed in Chapter II leave no doubt that the incidents and activities described in this section are not authorized and can be prosecuted as violations of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, and yet, those incidents and activities still occurred.

The third option is to provide training designed to solve the problem. The Commandant of the Marine Corps ordered this training to occur as part of a larger plan, Operation Order 1-95, designed to increase minority representation within the Marine Corps' officer corps. Specifically, the Operation Order calls for "developing a training and education plan that illustrates the benefits of a culturally diversified Marine Corps." [Ref. 5:p. 2] The remainder of this chapter examines and analyzes this training plan in its own capacity and in relation to Operation Order 1-95 as a whole.

#### **D. THE CURRENT MARINE CORPS PLAN**

The Commanding General of the Marine Corps Combat Development Command (MCCDC) was charged with developing the training plan called for in Operation Order 1-95. In a phone interview with the officer assigned to develop and coordinate this training effort [Ref. 29] the following details were gleaned. The training called for in Operation Order 1-95 will fall under the broad heading of "Marine Corps Values and Leadership Training." This training is to be "cradle to grave," that is, it is to start when a Marine first comes on active duty and continue through the course of his or her career. MCCDC envisions this taking place at entry level programs such as Boot Camp and OCS and then continuing in professional-level schools such as Noncommissioned Officer (NCO) Schools, The Basic School (TBS), Amphibious Warfare School (AWS) and other similar programs. This program is also to be utilized in the Fleet Marine Force (FMF) through the use of a soon-to-be-published "Marine Corps Values and Leadership User's Guide for Discussion Leaders." The training includes lecture and group discussion in the areas of core values, ethical leadership, sexual harassment, equal opportunity, fraternization, and leadership philosophy.

At the time of this writing, TBS is the only career-level school to have commenced teaching the program outlined above. Students at TBS are newly commissioned lieutenants who do not have any experience in operational billets, unless they were prior enlisted. Future classes will have received entry level training on the subjects noted above in OCS or at the Naval Academy prior to getting to TBS. The TBS program consists of a one and a half hour lecture on equal opportunity, sexual harassment, and fraternization followed by a two-hour, small-group (approximately 20 students) discussion. [Ref. 46] The discussion phase includes a

reemphasis on definitions, Marine Corps orders, policies, and objectives that were covered in the lecture period, as well as scenarios that students discuss in groups.

In addition to the training described above, Operation Order 1-95 dictates that those officers attending the Commander's Course, a program designed for colonels and lieutenant colonels selected for command, are to receive presentations on the use of the DEOMI training team. The DEOMI training team is a mobile training team that travels to various major commands and conducts training in accordance with the DEOMI curriculum described in Chapter II. The order also calls for "equal opportunity training, and cultural diversity awareness" to be taught to personnel involved in training officer candidates at OCS and lieutenants at TBS.

The second option for dealing with diversity issues has not been abandoned. Much of the training at TBS, both the lecture and the scenarios, emphasize the legal ramifications of violating the equal opportunity order and/or the sexual harassment order from the standpoint of the violator and the commanding officer who fails to act accordingly when advised of a violation. The question now becomes, "Will this type of program work?"

#### **E. ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT MARINE CORPS PLAN**

Training time is a critical yet limited commodity in today's Marine Corps. There is a lot of desired training that falls into the "would be nice to have" category, however, in a world of increasingly diverse challenges and shrinking defense budgets, the Marine Corps cannot afford to spend either time or money on training that is not essential in nature and effective in achieving its goals. The essentialness of diversity training has already been addressed. This section looks at the effectiveness of the Marine Corps' plan: how does the Marine Corps get "the most bang for the buck?"

Organizational training manuals and texts agree that the critical starting point is some form of training needs assessment. In his book *Training in Organizations*,

Dr. Irwin L. Goldstein notes that training is designed to achieve goals and meet needs, but cautions against the temptation to rush into training without thoroughly analyzing those goals and needs. [Ref. 45:p. 29] The Marine Corps may, however, have done just that.

The training plan outlined in Section D of this chapter is a sub-section of Operation Order 1-95. The question is, "What is the purpose of Operation Order 1-95?" Is that purpose addressing the Marine Corps' problems with discrimination and sexual harassment; is it about prospering from diversity; or is it solely to achieve "equitable diversity representation in order to create an officer corps that reflects the racial composition of America in the 21st Century," as noted in the Mission statement? [Ref. 5:p. 2] The answer is very unclear. An accessions goal of 12 percent Black, 12 percent Hispanic, and 5 percent Other by the year 2000 is generally assumed to be the main objective, so much so, that the plan is often referred to as "the 12-12-5 plan." However, the "Main Effort" of the order, the section that is to receive the most attention and support, is the training plan described in the previous section, a plan that is to "effect a cultural change in the Marine Corps by educating and training all Marines about the importance of diversity in our ranks." [Ref. 5:p. 2] The Marine Corps defines cultural diversity as "a desirable condition brought about by the gender, religious, racial, cultural, and social differences Marines bring to an organization." [Ref. 20:p. 1] So clearly, the "Main Effort" does apply to other social identifier categories, other than race and ethnicity. The training plan outlined in Section D specifically addresses gender issues and equal opportunity issues. It refers to educating Marines to recognize that diversity is an asset, not a liability. All of these things point to the fact that the training plan outlined in Section D goes beyond the issue of increasing racial representation in the officer corps.

The Marine Corps appears to have failed to realize the priority objective. What good is assessing more minorities if the environment in which they serve is not conducive to making them want to stay? Creating that environment is addressed in Operation Order 1-95, but by not being the primary goal, it loses some of its significance. Creating the cultural change the Commandant orders as a subservient issue to achieving 12-12-5 actually should be the priority objective. Increasing the racial representation of the officer corps should have been a sub-section of the training plan to bring about that cultural change, not the other way around. A better needs analysis might have determined this.

In addition to questions of the priority direction of Operation Order 1-95, there is also the question of whether the training plan described in the previous section will result in a cultural change in the Marine Corps from an organization struggling to deal with demographic changes to one that profits from those changes. What exactly is to be learned?

Much has been written in recent years on learning theory. Closer scrutiny of exactly what is to be learned has lead to new theory on how it should be learned. R. M. Gagne theorized that learning outcomes could be grouped into five categories; Intellectual skills, Verbal information, Cognitive strategies, Motor skills, and Attitudes. [Ref. 45:p. 102] Certain training techniques are more successful at accomplishing a particular desired learning outcome than other training techniques. A motor skill, such as changing a light bulb, is best learned by repetitive practice of the skill to be learned. [Ref. 45:p. 106] A discussion group organized to dissect the theory behind changing a light bulb would not accomplish the desired goal of a participant being able to change a light bulb nearly as effectively, if at all, as that participant practicing changing a light bulb under supervision. Similarly, repetitive

practice of a particular motor skill would do little to enhance someone's cognitive strategy on how to deal with an unexpected problem.

If the Commandant is to bring about a "cultural change" in the Marine Corps, then he is going to have to change opinions. He is going to have to alter learned stereotypes, identify and reverse gender conditioning, and end institutional and cultural racism. The training designed to accomplish these goals should utilize those techniques best suited to accomplish the learning outcomes defined by Gagne's "Attitudes" category. Part of the description of that category notes that personal preference for particular activities are learned attitudes developed by society being "bombarded" by different commercial messages. [Ref. 45:p.102] This description is consistent with the social conditioning theory discussed in Chapter II.

Crawford and Suchan's 1996 study "Media Selection in Graduate Education for Navy Medical Officers," applied Gagne's learning outcomes approach. A goal of the study was to delineate learning outcomes of education and techniques of learning applicable to each outcome. Their outcome category entitled "Understand and change habits of mind: Paradigm breaking" results in "a heightened self-consciousness [that] may eventually lead to new patterns of thinking that can result in breakthrough interpretations of organizational situations and novel approaches to organizational problem diagnosis." [Ref. 47:p. 16] "New patterns of thinking" is exactly what the Marine Corps needs to address the diversity issues of today and the future. If Marines cannot break the old pattern of thinking about diversity as a problem instead of a strength, unit cohesion and innovative thought will never be at a maximum. "A breakthrough interpretation of organizational situations" defines cultural change. The idea of a "heightened self-consciousness" was one of the necessary steps discussed in Chapter II for White people to obtain a higher state of racial identity and this also fits well with workshop objectives reviewed in Chapter III. The learning objective

the Marine Corps should be striving for is found in the "paradigm breaking/ attitude shift" category.

Crawford and Suchan's study notes that this category is a difficult learning outcome to achieve. It recommends using highly interactive learning techniques such as case studies, scenarios, simulations, and role playing. [Ref. 47:p. 17] These techniques are consistent with those recommended by Adult Learning Theory. This theory proposes that adults learn more deeply when using interactive techniques involving initiative, communication of past experiences, and independent thought. [Ref. 47:p. 9] These techniques are very different than the traditional classroom-oriented lecture techniques most adults grew up with. It is these Adult Learning Theory techniques that help to change attitudes or habits of mind. In Chapter III, the associate director of NCBI was quoted as saying "we aren't just changing opinions, we're changing hearts, and stories change hearts." "Stories" are a good example of the interactive, experience-relating communication called for in Adult Learning Theory.

The Marine Corps training program, as described in the TBS example cited earlier in this chapter, only partly meets these criteria. The first half of the training evolution is straight classroom lecture with a one to approximately 200 teacher to student ratio. This is the same type of traditional, one-way education that has proved ineffective in the past. The second half of the training is more geared towards Adult Learning Theory by utilizing small discussion groups. However, it is doubtful that 2 hours will be sufficient to change attitudes. While the use of scenarios in these discussions is a positive step in the right direction, it is not as powerful as participants relating personal experiences and, hence, is unlikely to cause the "change in heart," for which NCBI's associate director strives.

Another significant point made in Crawford and Suchan's study is the role of the instructor/facilitator in the paradigm breaking process. The instructor/facilitator role is described as requiring a high degree of skill to be able to facilitate the necessary degree of trust amongst trainees. [Ref. 47:p. 17] This idea of a skilled trainer or counselor facilitating a trusting environment was supported in both the NCBI train-the-trainer workshop and the Kriener workshop. The trainers in the Marine Corps plan do not receive any specialized training. Discussion group leaders at TBS are Staff Platoon Commanders and in the FMF are actual unit leaders at various levels (i.e., squad, platoon, company, etc.). The training these individuals receive on diversity topics prior to assuming their roles as discussion leaders is limited to a review of prepared lesson plans. The only people in the Marine Corps who receive training extensive enough to qualify as instructor training are the Command Equal Opportunity Advisors mentioned in Chapter II. Unfortunately, their numerous other responsibilities in terms of advising and reporting severely limit their time to act as instructors and again, their numbers are very small relative to the number of people they would be expected to instruct.

Another problem with the Marine Corps training plan is the nature of the material covered. The prepared lesson plan utilized at TBS defines terms such as prejudice, discrimination, equal opportunity, affirmative action, and cultural diversity. It outlines relevant Marine Corps orders and directives and talks about accountability of actions. What it does not address is causes of discrimination. There is no mention of the social conditioning Gagne discusses when describing the difficulties in changing attitudes. There is no mention of the concepts of privilege, power, or oppression. Without a realization of the true causes of discrimination, there can only be a superficial solution to the problem. Lukeman's survey showed that 76.8 percent of Marine officer's interviewed did not feel that a racially diversified officer corps

was an important issue. [Ref. 3:p. 28] Citing this response and other responses to similar questions in his survey, as well as the MCEOS results that indicate that minority officers do not have a high opinion of the equal opportunity climate in the Marine Corps as compared to White officers. [Ref. 3:p. 20], Lukeman concludes that unless the Marine Corps' training and education plan does more to focus on changing attitudes, the "cultural change" called for in the plan will not occur. [Ref. 3:p. 29] The literature reviewed in Chapter II supports this conclusion.

#### **F. SUMMARY**

The Marine Corps has problems with discrimination. The senior leadership in the Marine Corps recognizes these problems and believes they are a serious readiness issue. That view, however, is not shared by the majority of the officers in the Marine Corps. Nonetheless, the Marine Corps has developed a plan to incorporate diversity training continuously throughout a Marine's career in the Corps. While a step in the right direction, that plan is not sufficient in scope or methodology to solve the Marine Corps' "diversity problems" now or in the future. Other options are presented in the next chapter.

## V. RECOMMENDATIONS AND SURVEY RESULTS

### A. INTRODUCTION

Because the Marine Corps is infantry-oriented and such positions are the most physically demanding, it is not surprising that female representation is lowest there. Also not surprising is the intense masculine mystique that surrounds this branch of the service. [Ref. 35:p. 309] Susan A. Basow

The Marine Corps is the epitome of the White male oppressor role.  
Charles Kreiner

These quotes reflect the opinions of two people who have spent much of their lifetimes studying, understanding, and offering solutions for discrimination and oppression. They underscore the magnitude of the challenge facing the Marine Corps as it comes to grips with diversity issues. The problem, however is even more complicated than the quotes indicate. Many of the traits attributed to Kreiner's "White male oppressor role" or Basow's "masculine mystique" are essential to an effective combat unit. Aggression, a "take charge" mentality, the ability to suppress emotions, are just a few of these traits. If an individual Marine is to be successful on the battlefield he or she must be able to apply these traits at the correct time and place. The same Marine must be able to decipher when and where it is inappropriate or even unhealthy to apply these traits. This is the true nature of the challenge before the Marine Corps. The author of this thesis believes it can be done.

This chapter focuses on the author's recommendations for how diversity training should be conducted in the United States Marine Corps. It proceeds on the premises of the last chapter's conclusions: the Marine Corps has problems in

accepting diversity within its ranks; diversity training is necessary to solve those problems; and the Marine Corps' present course of action in this area, although a positive step in the right direction, will not solve the problems.

In the spring of 1996, an experimental, graduate-level seminar entitled "Managing Diversity in the Military" taught by Professor George Thomas was offered at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. The 12-week course utilized many of the concepts, exercises, techniques, and philosophies discussed throughout the course of this thesis. Students in this elective course included eight officers in the United States Navy, three officers in the United States Marine Corps, and one naval officer from the Federal Republic of Germany. Demographically, the group included two Black females, two Asian/Pacific Islander males two White females and six White males. A mixture of support and combat arms MOSSs, years of service ranging from 5 to 18 years, religious affiliation including Protestants, Catholics, and one Jew, and officer ranks that included O-3s, O-4s, and one O-5 (the German officer), were represented in the group.

One year after this class was completed, the participants were surveyed to determine their opinions on various aspects of the course germane to the recommendations in this chapter. The survey can be found in Appendix A. Although limited in its ability to predict responses across the spectrum of all military officers by the relatively small number of participants involved, this survey is, nonetheless, an indication of how other military officers might respond to similar training. The one-year delay between the time the students took the course and the time they were surveyed was intentional in order to alleviate some of the "proximity effect" associated with evaluation surveys completed immediately following a course of instruction. In addition, the one-year delay provides a better assessment of the training's capability to induce a long-term change in attitudes. The opinions

expressed by the students of this class, as indicated by their collective and individual responses to the survey, are used throughout this chapter to support recommendations for diversity training in the Marine Corps.

## **B. RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **1. Content of Diversity Training**

Teaching Marines that "all Marines must be treated fairly" and that "there is strength in diversity" are worthwhile goals, but they are not sufficient in themselves to bring about a cultural change. Awareness, or rather, lack thereof, is what is at issue here. If a person does not understand individual, institutional, and cultural racism, he or she will never be able to recognize and combat those forms of racism. If an individual does not understand gender conditioning or other forms of social conditioning, then it is too easy to declare something "natural" or "the way of things" and rationalize, either openly or subconsciously, discriminatory behavior. These subjects, along with the concepts of power, privilege, and oppression must be taught, discussed, and learned.

Much of the literature reviewed in Chapter II, indicated that change can only be accomplished through those in power: the White, male majority. This theme was echoed in Chapter III by Kreiner's theory that racism is a White person's problem and sexism is a male problem. These problems can't be solved, the change can't be brought about, if those in power aren't aware of the true nature of the problem.

None of the White males surveyed indicated any prior knowledge of the concepts of power or privilege. Three indicated no previous knowledge of gender conditioning, and the other two only acknowledged a limited understanding prior to taking the diversity class. One White male claimed prior knowledge of oppression and credited it to his being Jewish. Another White male claimed to have "some degree" of knowledge of oppression, but the other three claimed no knowledge on the

subject. Four out of the five claimed no prior understanding of institutional or cultural racism, with the fifth claiming knowledge to some degree. When asked what aspect of the class had the most profound effect on him, one White male surface warfare lieutenant replied,

The issue of White male privilege was especially profound and difficult for me. All my life, I have always thought that I got things because I worked hard and applied myself. It was difficult for me to "swallow" the idea that the playing field is not level, and just because you work hard, doesn't mean you will succeed.

That sentiment was echoed by a White male artillery captain who said, "I believed that my hard work was the reason for all my success." A White male infantry captain listed the concept of cultural racism as having the most profound effect on him, noting "I never knew about White privilege."

Knowledge of these concepts was much more prevalent among minority and/or female officers. Both Black females claimed prior knowledge in all the above categories. One attributed it to a college sociology class and a child development class (in the case of gender conditioning), the other officer attributed the prior knowledge to her experiences as a Black woman. The two White females acknowledged varying degrees of knowledge of the concepts. One female lieutenant commander (select) fleet support officer noted,

I had never really considered these [power and privilege] as concepts. Again, I just understood their implication in terms of my life. I have less power and privilege than males, but more than non-whites...etc.

The other White female indicated similar feelings about gender conditioning.

One Asian/Pacific Islander male indicated some knowledge of gender conditioning, power, and institutional and cultural racism, but no prior knowledge of privilege or oppression. The other Asian/Pacific Islander male indicated "a very limited" prior knowledge of all concepts. All 11 officers surveyed felt they were more knowledgeable or aware of the above subjects after taking the diversity class. Ten out of 11 officers felt that these were important subjects to be included in diversity training. The officer with the one dissenting view still indicated she felt they were important subjects for "highlighting the detrimental effects of not respecting one another as human beings." The opinion of the majority can best be expressed by the observation of a Black, female, fleet support lieutenant who noted, "It will not be considered valuable diversity training, in my opinion, if [these concepts are] not included."

## **2. The Awareness Factor and Training Format**

In Chapter II, it was noted that in one of the early stages of Helms' statuses of White racial identity (Disintegration), White people were characterized as becoming aware of inequalities and that this resulted in inner conflict. In Chapter III it was noted that a common thread in all the workshops analyzed was the use of emotionally powerful personal testimony to heighten participants' awareness of discriminatory practices and the effect those practices had on individuals. In a sense, both ideas refer to "shocking" somebody into an awareness they did not have previously. As indicated in Chapter IV, the majority of Marine officers do not feel the Marine Corps has an equal opportunity problem. They need to be "shocked" into a sense of reality. The scenarios the Marine Corps plans to use during small group discussions are challenging and thought provoking, [Ref. 20] but are unlikely to have the "shock" effect necessary for changing attitudes. Personal testimony does have that effect.

A White male artillery captain noted, "Hearing stories from your contemporaries really drives the point home." A White male naval flight officer lieutenant commander listed "learning how to listen" as the material most relevant to the military. An Asian/Pacific Islander male surface warfare lieutenant noted,

The openness of the discussions had the biggest effect. Most discussions have ulterior motives or meanings. Our section wanted to be honest and say what they felt.

This emotional "shock" was not just experienced from the standpoint of people becoming aware of a discrimination, but also by people already aware who still gained from the experience. One White female, fleet support lieutenant commander (select) noted,

I was surprised and moved by the struggle of males to understand the concepts of privilege and the impact effects of gender conditioning. Watching the emotion and growth of my peers gave me the ability to be more patient and tolerant with them. I discovered that much of the hurtful behavior is conducted out of ignorance, and not with intent, as I had previously thought.

A Black female, fleet support lieutenant noted,

I had become pessimistic prior to this course. I have never had the opportunity to really have a sincere heart/gut wrenching conversation with White males about various issues. I found although we have our differences, we actually had more in common.

Training designed along the format of the NCBI one-day workshop would be ideal for the Marine Corps (see Table 3.2). Exercises such as "Up/Down" and "Pairs"

start off slowly, build trust and confidence, and encourage active participation. Exercises such as "First Thoughts," "Internalized Oppression," and "Pride" enlighten participants to some of the concepts mentioned in the first recommendation that are critical to meaningful diversity training. The "shock" factor is present in the "Caucus" exercise and the "Speak-Out" exercise. These highly interactive exercises are excellent applications of the Adult Learning Theory described in Chapter IV.

### **3. Diversity of Peer Participants**

A peer environment is critical for successful diversity training. Although the research conducted on the NCBI workshops in Chapter III indicated that training can be productive in a non-peer environment, NCBI's associate director readily admitted that a peer environment is the preferable option. [Ref. 39] Establishing an environment where people feel safe to volunteer personal testimony of the type described in the previous section is a difficult process that becomes several times more difficult when a rank structure is introduced. The Marine Corps plan calls for training to take place at both formal schools and in the FMF. There are enough formal schools available in the Marine Corps, starting with Boot Camp and OCS and proceeding through the normal career path of an enlisted Marine or an officer, to provide plenty of opportunities for the type of training being described in this chapter to take place in a peer environment. This type of diversity training should not be attempted in the non-peer environment of the FMF. Training that reviews applicable rules, regulations, and orders, such as the two-hour lecture part of the training presently being conducted at TBS, is well suited for the FMF.

The importance of the peer environment was emphasized repeatedly in the survey responses of the participants in the diversity seminar. All 11 respondents felt the diversity class was a peer environment, and 9 out of 11 felt such an environment

was prerequisite for this type of training. The comments of a White female former aviator best describe the consensus assessment:

I felt comfortable with the people in the class. I think it would be less effective for an initial training course if it wasn't in a peer group environment. I'd be even less likely to speak up.

Also of critical importance is having a small enough group to allow maximum participation by all members, yet large enough to have sufficient diversity within the group. Achieving diversity within each training group should not be left to chance. If there were, for example, no females in a training group, it would be highly unlikely that the effects of gender conditioning or sexual harassment could be vocalized to the degree necessary to cause the shock reaction described in the previous section.

#### **4. The Facilitator**

The group leader must be a trained facilitator. Chapter III discussed the powerful effect of the relative skill level of the trainers on various NCBI exercises and even on entire workshops. Chapter IV noted the importance of the facilitator in the paradigm breaking learning outcome of the study cited. [Ref. 47:p. 18]

The surveyed diversity class students echoed these feelings. All 11 respondents answered "yes" to the question of whether or not the facilitator was important to the effectiveness of the training, most placing heavy emphasis on just how important they felt he was. A White female former aviator said, "He was the expert and brought things into focus and back on track when they were on divergent paths." A Black female fleet support lieutenant commander said,

Yes, there absolutely has to be a facilitator. A facilitator has to be able to make most of the information understandable for the participants. The facilitator leads a group to the heart and soul of an issue.

An Asian/Pacific Islander male surface warfare lieutenant said,

He was the expert. He kept the class from diverting topics or ideas. He made the situation and the exercises relaxed, comfortable, and safe.

The emotion-charged type of training being recommended in this chapter has a risk. When people are relating painful personal memories they can become emotionally overwhelmed. This possibly dangerous side effect is another reason to employ only highly trained facilitators. NCBI provides safety by closely monitoring participants to the point of stopping the exercise if necessary. NCBI also utilizes a minimum of two trainers at all times so, if necessary, one trainer can continue on with the workshop while the other sees to the well-being of the emotionally overwhelmed person.

The final reason to employ highly trained facilitators is the issue of control of the group. Since this training would be mandatory, there will undoubtedly be individuals in the group who are hostile to the training, perhaps even to the point of being disruptive. Given the benefit of military discipline, this should be less of a problem for the Marine Corps than for some civilian organizations. Nevertheless, the skill level of the facilitator could make the difference between a successful training evolution and a dysfunctional learning experience.

## **5. Time Requirements and Dedicated Involvement**

The recommended training would require a minimum of two all-day workshops. It would be even more effective if it were broken into half-day workshops that met once a week and took place over a 4- to 6-week period.

The question of how much time should be allotted for diversity training is difficult since training time is such a valuable, limited resource. The formal schools where it is recommended that this training take place are finding it difficult to meet

all the training requirements presently being levied upon them. If the schools are expanded to allow for additional training, that has an associated cost, both in terms of operating dollars and students not being available for FMF assignments. However, if diversity training truly is as important as the Commandant has indicated, if the Marine Corps leadership really believes it to be a readiness issue as argued in this thesis and supported by the ALMARS and Congressional testimony reviewed in Chapter II, then diversity training should be given the same priority as other readiness training issues, even if this means reducing other training activities from the curricula of these schools. Effective diversity education can not be condensed to a 1- or 2-hour annual requirement.

This concern that diversity training might be degraded to a "check-in-the-block" mentality was mentioned by several survey respondents, even though a specific question on that possibility was not part of the survey. When the survey respondents were asked if diversity training should be taught in the military, and if so, should it be taught as it was presented in their diversity class, 9 out of 11 enthusiastically answered "yes." Two respondents expressed mixed views on what should be taught and/or emphasized. One of those two explained:

I am worried if a program like this is implemented, how long would it take for it to be "just a check in the box." On a sense of being a part of military training, right now, I am pessimistic about implementing such a program.

Even one of the respondents who enthusiastically supported this type of training warned, "Diversity training cannot be a 'check-in-the-block,' 1-2 hour lecture."

Not allowing the training to become a "check-in-the-block" proforma activity without substance is not only a function of the time allotted to the training, but also

a function of the instructor/facilitator's belief in the material. Not only must the facilitators be well-trained, as indicated in the previous section, but they must also be committed to the goals of the program. An Artillery captain noted on his survey, "Breaking down cultural barriers between individuals and establishing a 'human' common denominator can only enhance unit cohesion and therefore combat effectiveness." Those conducting this training also must believe that.

### **C. SUMMARY**

The Marine Corps is not a social experiment, it is not a corporation concerned with a profit margin, and it is not a charity organization. It is an organization of highly-trained, professional warriors who are tasked with fighting and winning our country's battles. That tasking requires maximum contribution from *all* Marines. It is up to the leadership of the Marine Corps to insure an environment that allows, encourages, and utilizes the maximum productivity of all Marines now and in the Marine Corps of the future.

With each passing day, the United States Marine Corps becomes a more culturally diverse institution. This is happening as a result of both changing demographics and legislative and judicial action. The Marine Corps can choose to regard this as either a problem or an opportunity. As evidenced by discrimination lawsuits, bad publicity, and the Marine Corps' own equal opportunity survey, the Marine Corps has not done as well as it needs to do in adjusting to its new environment.

The Commandant of the Marine Corps has called for a "cultural change" in how the Marine Corps looks at diversity issues. The Marine Corps wants to capitalize on the diversity found in its ranks and it wants to end its discrimination problems. It has come up with a plan to achieve these ends. However, that plan does not address the true nature of diversity issues in the Marine Corps today. Rather than confronting

the appropriate issues such as White male privilege, gender conditioning, oppression, and power, the current plan sets up a quota system that, even if achieved, is unlikely to create the cultural change in attitude the Commandant has ordered.

A training program that incorporates highly interactive exercises, role-playing scenarios, personal experience, enlightened lectures, and other forms of instruction consistent with Adult Learning Theory is the Marine Corps' best chance to create a cultural change around diversity issues. This training program should be facilitated by highly trained and dedicated instructors. It should be taught at career-level schools where small groups of racially, ethically, and gender diverse students can learn in a peer environment. This program must be given the same degree of attention and importance as other important factors affecting readiness.

## APPENDIX: MN4970 SURVEY

February 10, 1997

### PERSONAL DATA

Service \_\_\_\_\_

Warfare Spec/MOS \_\_\_\_\_

Rank \_\_\_\_\_

YOS \_\_\_\_\_

Sex \_\_\_\_\_

Race \_\_\_\_\_

Religion \_\_\_\_\_

**#1** Have you ever had any other form of diversity training/education in the military (other than our MN4970 class)? Do not count required annual sexual harassment training.

If so, please describe it and compare/contrast it to MN4970.

**#2** What proportion of the material covered did you feel is relevant to the military as a whole and to your service and/or warfare community/MOS specifically?

Why?

#3 What aspect(s) of the class had the most profound affect on you? Why?

#4 Which of the following concepts were you aware of (and to what degree)before taking MN4970?

Gender Conditioning?

Other social conditioning?

Privilege?

Power ?

Oppression?

Institutional or cultural racism verse individual racism?

Whether you were aware of the above concepts or not, do you feel knowledgeable/more knowledgeable about those subjects now?

Do you feel they are important concepts for diversity training?

**#5** Do you feel your race and/or gender and/or religion made you feel more or less comfortable in the class?

If so, Why?

**#6** Did you feel you were in a peer environment? If you did, do you think the course would have been more or less effective if you were not in a peer environment?

**#7** Did you feel the facilitator role as demonstrated by Prof. Thomas was important to the effectiveness of the training? If yes, what about it was important?

**#8** Do you feel “changed” as a result of this training? (I’ll let you define changed in your own words) If you answer yes, please elaborate how.

**#9** What did you think of the movie “Color of Fear?” Would you use it as part of a military diversity training program? Why or why not?

**#10** Do you think diversity training (as you experienced it in MN4970 or some other way you want to describe) should be taught in the military?

**#11** Any additional thoughts/comments? (Continue on back if needed for this question or any other question).



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